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CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 28, 1998

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Macleans's This Week

CANADA'S
WEEKLY
NEWSMAGAZINE

SEPTEMBER 28, 1998 VOL. 25 NO. 39

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Many of the new shows this fall have an ally: the tube. Focus on single white women, white just a line—inspiring the Canadian series *De Vries's August*, starring Mercedes Corbelli—combine intelligence with a broad appeal.



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The MacKay link force on financial services recommends more choice for consumers and more competition. How are 4 proposals an end to the smothering ban on mergers by the country's biggest banks?



56 The children of sperm donors

Young adults who were conceived from the frozen sperm of anonymous donors are seeking information about their fathers.

From The Editor

What did the PM say?



For the governing party, there is nothing quite like being under sustained attack in the Commons when you know you are on the wrong side of a brewing scandal. Day after day, the opposition shambles of allegations and demands to resign takes its toll with finality, the administration loses control. One can only imagine where Bill Clinton would be today if he had to face a daily parliamentary grilling on his lies in the Monica Lewinsky case. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien has as far escaped the scandal scourge, his crises have been about his performance. But Chrétien's moment may be at hand as the Commons returns this week. The issue is what he said or knew about the crackdown on protesters last November at an international summit of Pacific nations in Vancouver (page 38).

Whoever gave the marching orders—and the growing evidence points to Chrétien and his operatives—the RCMP's suppression of civil liberties to placate a foreign doctor surely ranks as one of the darker days in Canada's peacetime history. The *Montreal Mirror* suggested that they turned pepper gas to douse a demonstration so that the armed agents protecting despised Indonesian president Suharto did not stain Canadian soil on the campus of the University of British Columbia.

The Prime Minister, who tried to laugh off the violent Vancouver



Protesters spraying a protester: darker days

riot that Canada "control what the media publishes" about Suharto. The response, according to an RCMP source: "They were told that would be impossible." —Gise Daniels

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes:

The Weekly Whirl

Twenty years ago last week, *Maclean's* became a weekly news-magazine with a cover story on the historic Camp David Middle East talks. Since then, the magazine has covered the Trudeau and Mulroney eras, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, while inhabiting special annual reports on



universities, health care and the national mood. After its launch in 1965, *Maclean's* was mostly a monthly feature magazine, until its conversion to a bi-weekly news-magazine in 1975. The actual transition to weekly status three years later would not have happened without the vision of two people, in particular—then-Editor Peter C. Newman and Publisher Lloyd Hodgkinson. In the first weekly issue, Newman wrote "Now, at last, we can realize our purpose to reporting the ebbs

and flow of events as they actually happen, hopefully conveying not only information, but understanding."

Francis and The Post

A column in the Sept. 21 issue ("Stoking a new post." Opening *National* should have reported that after the Southern chime accepted, The *Financial Post*, Editor Diane Francis had agreed to write three columns per week for the new national daily. The *National Post*. Her title will be Editor-at-Large and she also will write a weekly column for the Southern chime of papers. It is, says Francis, "exactly what I wanted."



Life has your name on it.

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Emergency personnel at Pigeon Cove: empathy

That is not correct, for it was I would not be writing you. My father, Stanley C. Tjepma, is one of 38 survivors of that torpedoing.

C. Doug Tjepma
Milton Ont.

Learning abilities

The regular classroom is still predominantly verbal, linguistic and logical-mathematical in its teaching style ("Why kids can't read," Cover, Sept. 7). Many students work well for approximately one-third of all children, but with discerning teachers for children with other learning styles. Our own work in literacy has shown that when a learner's style is taken into account, all can succeed. We do not subscribe to the disability myth. We promote a giftedness paradigm that asserts that all children have gifts and talents. In our view, we know more than enough to educate all children successfully. For those who are labelled into black rooms, it is a lifelong sentence in failure. And the community argued us very hard. We already spend hundreds of millions cleaning up and warehousing people who have been systematically failed by education. We can and must do better.

Dr. Michael Foster
Director, Centre for Gifted Education
and Jack Parenteau
President, Inland Northwest
Tenn.

Your picture of the "normal" and "dyslexic" brain individually suggests a neurologically based cause for specific reading disabilities. This correlation can also go in the other direction—poor readers, or even fluent readers, faced with challenging reading material, will expand areas and sometimes develop a reading comprehension system as fluent readers develop with ease. Material as readers are doing low-achieving reading, activation patterns change. Such pictures of the brain look impressive, but explain little of the causes and nature of learning disabilities.

Teresa A. Glavin
Assistant Professor, Department of Speech
Language Pathology and Audiology
University of Regina
Saskatchewan

We feel you missed an important part of the story by not reporting on the status of post-secondary education for Canadian students

Breaking it gently

Sorry to break it to the big guy, St. Louis Cardinals baseball player Mark McGwire, but he is actually taking a steroid ("Popping the muscle pill," Health, Sept. 7). Andromeda is just one of hundreds of steroids that originate from the glands and adrenal glands. I suspect Dave Pipher of MuscleTech Research & Development knows that too, otherwise, he should get to know his product line a bit better. As for Pipher's quote that he is "offering an alternative to steroids that is somewhat natural," let me remind him that good testosterone is 100 per cent natural too.

Rob LeFebvre
The Atlantic Veterinary College,
Charlottetown

with learning disabilities. To date, services to postsecondary students with learning disabilities in Canada remain those of the school system—discrete, inefficient and discontinuous. With 65 per cent of all jobs created expected to require more than 18 years of education and training by the year 2000, it is imperative that students with learning disabilities learn to use and have the option to attend college or university. Post-secondary institutions must be prepared to provide programs that ensure these students have a chance for academic success and they must begin now.

Dr. Wilma Jones-Drew and Lynn-Drew
The Mayfield Centre for Learning Assistance and
Research
Mount Allison University
Sackville, N.S.

I would like the development of a child to find something someone to play the piano I find piano is not properly tuned. Then to matter how insensitive the teacher, one is not going to get the desired outcome. Simply discovering a new way of evoking the poorly tuned piano—the brain with respect to resonance capacity—does not confer as demanding. Cognitive and emotional dysfunction results from exposure to material that our biology can't properly metabolize moulds and chemicals from poorly constructed and/or damaged buildings inadequate lighting, heavy metal toxicity as well as exposure to pesticides, PCBs, dioxin, industrial chemicals and above all, poor quality food and the wrong food. For our children's sake, we must address these real issues and stop looking for Band-Aids while taxes allocated by the pork-barrel industry

David J. Pipher
Anthony N.Y.

THE MAIL In defence of K.C.

As we waited for the opening bars of an All-Musical evening performed in July by the New Brunswick Symphony Orchestra in the beautiful restored Imperial Theatre in Saint John, my sister mentioned that she saw one of K.C. Irving's sons in the audience. That triggered a memory of a passage in the biography K.C. by Douglas How and Ralph Casella telling of efforts to bring the old Imperial back to life in this story. When he was retired and in his mid-60s, K.C. Irving was contacted by his sons who had been approached about restoring the Imperial as a project that would bear his name. "Do they want some money?" he asked. "Probably," he was told. "Well, give them some money on the understanding that they keep my name off it." And, of course, I thought of it again when I read a letter signed by three Irving sons (K.C. Irving's sons), Aug. 17) in response to an article that sounded like an act of vengeance from Peter C. Newman ("How could K.C. Irving make the list?" The Nation's Business, July 18). Canadians have a long history of shooting down their heroes, not just I fear that Laura Secord was a Yankee contact woman.

Edward W. Jervett,
Montreal

Occupational health

I was refreshing to read the article "Unwell and underpaid" (Health, Aug. 10). Too often, the media focus on the negative side of the issues of mental illness, often to the detriment and further stigmatization of many people. An important issue was raised regarding the provision of make-work versus real work for persons with a serious mental illness. Previous policy (still present in many places) sought to occupy persons with a mental illness with a variety of mundane and menial tasks. These practices aimed to instill a human need to be involved and to make use of mind and body. However, what these practices failed to offer, and what Ontario Council of Alternative Businesses does address, is the need for all persons, regardless of impairment, disability or handicap, to be involved in meaningful occupation. Passive media attention that focuses on the strengths and capabilities of persons with a serious mental illness will help to lessen the ongoing stigmatization and, I hope, will enlighten society to the many social issues faced by consumers and/or survivors in the arena of hospital restructuring within Ontario. Policies will need to encourage a flow of dollars out of bricks and mortar and into the hands and pockets of those who need it.

Karen Aronson,
Sudbury Ont.

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Tony Aspler
Wine Analyst & Columnist



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Maclean's
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Editorial Update

Maclean's: beyond the news

When it comes to keeping up with new events in Canada and around the world, Maclean's has been a must-read since it became a weekly newsmagazine. 25 units ago next month the *Canada Edition* and *World* sections regularly feature articles of special interest to Canadians.

Maclean's award-winning team of editors and writers also offers readers special Personal Finance reports, published bi-weekly and examining such subjects as RRSPs, saving, consumer debt and property markets plus monthly reports on technology. As well, the magazine is committed to tracking and interpreting health and educational developments both at home and abroad.

Maclean's weekly Health section makes sense of the confusing jargon of medical reports and research with timely features and "Health Monitor" updates. Recent reports have included groundbreaking research on the connection of health-care services, a critical look at the Internet as a health resource and an examination of new therapies for breast cancer.

In the face of rising costs, government cutbacks and increasing demand, education in Canada is undergoing major reform. In addition to Maclean's award-winning university ranking issue, the magazine's weekly Education section tracks these developments, providing relevant information on such important topics as learning disabilities, experimental teaching approaches, and rising tuition costs.

Maclean's is delivering what matters to Canadians every week.

Newsstand Notes



Web Site News

Maclean's on the World Wide Web serves up a variety of stories from the current week's issue. Our address is <http://www.macleans.ca>.

Our Internet edition also offers:

- **Maclean's Weekly Selections** - Information and entertaining Web links tied to the week's top stories, selected by Yahoo! Canada and Maclean's.
- **Maclean's Keyword** - A selection of previous stories organized to help readers follow current issues.
- **University Rankings** - Our annual look at universities plus a directory with links to university Web sites.
- **Maclean's Forum** - A place to speak out on issues of the day.

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Sundays 11:30 a.m.

Hosted by Pamela Wallin, this weekly half-hour show provides a novel look at the people and news from the pages of Maclean's. Maclean's TV is a television watch-along, which Maclean's TV on CTV events Sunday morning at 11:30 a.m. select Mike Duffy's Sunday Report.

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ANALYST

Backstage



Anthony Wilson-Smith

Three political rules *not* to observe

For the dwindling number of Canadians with an interest in politics, one source of amusement is how—when so much of the world is in flux—so much of the nation's political life remains unchanged. Some aspects are quaint and endearing; one is the way in which politicians in Parliament still cannot address each other directly. Instead, they speak, by rule and tradition, address their comments and insults to each other second-hand by way of the Speaker of the House of Commons or Senate. Another commendable tradition, despite criticism, is Question Period, where the prime minister and cabinet ministers make themselves accountable to the opposition—and, by extension, to voters. By comparison, President Bill Clinton and his political opponents seldom debate; instead, they denounce each other from a distance through dueling news conferences. That means that they make themselves available for comment only when it suits them, and only when they have ensured the ground rules of their appearance.

Other traditions range from tedious to harmful. Senior Canadians, for example, might cite the confusing existence of an elected Senate—although in recent years, it has arguably done more thoughtful work than the Commons. Then there are the political traditions that are, in fact, false. Politicians and political journalists, both of whom have a vested interest in attracting attention, engage in an unspoken conspiracy to dramatize events and obscure beyond their threshold. Consider these supposed basic ground rules of politics, and the manner in which they all fell recent news events.

Rule one: Use an accurate barometer of overall trends. The media quickly named the Sept. 14 vote to replace former Progressive Conservative leader Jean Charest as the decisive riding in a man-of-the-moment election. When the *Winnipeg Free Press* won the seat, *The Toronto Star's* banner headline, for one, said "Bliss was a setback to hopes for unity."

Really? In a riding with 73,060 eligible voters, about half chose to vote, and the *Winnipeg Free Press's* candidate, won by 383 votes, with about 10,000 voters. That means that fewer than one-quarter of eligible voters chose the pro-separatist party. As for the Liberals, who came second, the last time they won the seat was in 1980. And Charest will believe in, *Shakespeare*, rallying public support of the Tory candidate. Moreover, the riding has a high proportion of federal civil servants, who are famous with the Liberals for shuffling a recent human rights tribunal ruling on pay equity that would force Ottawa to pay about \$4 billion to 230,000 employees. The best time to reflect that rage is in a by-election—when local issues matter most and voters are the smallest. In short a race was for the

Blue—but hardly the stuff of which nations are made or grandiose

Leadership races are the best time to energize political parties. Spoiling of the Tories—well, is anybody? Even in the best of circumstances, leadership races usually serve to divide more than they unite. Sure, they attract new members—who stayed involved until about two days after the race is over. Then, most of those who supported defeat if candidates get back to their regular lives, while those who backed the winner start squabbling over who among them has been most loyal to the victor, and for how long, in order to gain the seats across the throne.

In this race, Joe Clark or Hugh Segal will win because one or the other has the most lovers to call in among old party leaders who have

since moved on to other things—and are now unemployed, however briefly, from retirement. The Wilson press gallery, in turn, likes the race because it offers a great opportunity to have nostalgic and expensive experience seated at the table with these once-familiar faces. But no matter who wins on Oct. 28, there will be one difference: most supporters of the winner will plead for the right not to be involved any further, and to resume their private lives.

On international issues, a good leader should reflect the public will without fear or favor. Sometimes, that is true. If Prime Minister Jean Charest had told Indonesia's then President Suharto to get stuffed when Suharto asked for protesters to be expelled—potentially by force—at last November's APEC conference in Vancouver, Canada might be great, instead of ashamed, of its prime minister's behavior. A true leader knows when to stand up.

And when to sit down. That is what the Prime Minister should have done last week instead of leaving Alan Greenspan, chairman of the United States Federal Reserve Board, on the spot to lower American interest rates. For one, by the time Charest spoke up, it was clear that Greenspan was not going to do that. For another, as the Prime Minister likes to say—usually after refusing to comment on human rights issues—it is inappropriate to discuss the internal policies of other countries. Finally, the Prime Minister needlessly reminded already-nervous money markets of the extent to which Canada's economy policy is decided in Washington: the loonie plummeted to nearly a crest in the aftermath.

One reason that politics seem increasingly irrelevant is that too many of those who promise it or report on it believe in manufactured crises. Some forms of that include public disasters that don't have to be made, much-hyped events that are not important, and emotional issues that cannot be kept, or should not, such as Charest's promise to "scrap" the Goods and Services Tax. The goal of all that is to make people *listen*. Increasingly, and thankfully, the result is the exact opposite.

Opening NOTES

Edited by
TANIA GAYNES

Feting an African hero

Planning a party is always hectic, but just try throwing one for South African President Nelson Mandela and 10,000 schoolchildren. The 1993 Nobel Peace Prize winner has a crowded schedule and, at 80, is beginning to scale back his public appearances. Add to that the logistical challenge of a live broadcast from Toronto's SkyDome—replete with entertainers including Cirque du Soleil and Steven Apatow—and, the sheer scale of such other luminaries as Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and his wife, Alice, and things become even hairier. Still, after a mere four months of preparation, the Sept. 25 fundraiser for the new Canadian chapter of the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund is ready to go. "This has become the cause of my life," says John Pigo, chairman of the committee planning the event and a marketing executive. "I haven't been at work for the last three months."



Mandela: a live broadcast, dignitaries and 45,000 kids

The ball game rolling in May was the South African High Com-

missioner, Billy Medlin, informed the committee that Mandela and his new wife, Graça Machel, wanted to attend a children's event as part of his two-day visit to Canada. Mandela created the Children's Fund in 1994 to help disadvantaged South African kids. The Canadian chapter was established in April this year joining Britain and the United States. But this is the first time Mandela will help raise money at a mass rally. "The response has been remarkable," says Pigo, referring to the numerous partners and donors—in church, school, boards, unions, companies and various levels of government—contributing to the event. He says that getting the seven sectors to work together is a "testimony to Mandela and how he speaks to all people."

During the final week of planning, the committee is dealing with last-minute details such as which children will sit with Mandela and Machel, and which dignitaries and sponsors will get a photo opportunity with the South African president. "We're trying to work out the photo schedule right now," says Pigo with a sigh. "My biggest concern is making sure this goes off live, without a hitch." They sured

CAPITAL CONFIDENTIAL

It isn't the sort of welcome back Jean Chrétien's Liberals wanted. The House of Commons is to return from its summer recess on Sept. 21. The next day, however, a restricted group of members from across Canada planned to flock to Parliament Hill to reassure their kinsmen against the government's 2005 gun-control legislation. Organizers of the Fed Up II rally were disappointed that Hillary would be gone. Charles Hines, president of the U.S. National Rifle Association, could not make it for the event. They turned instead to another American—John Lott, a University of Chicago professor whose book *More Guns, Less Crime* argues that firearms provide social benefits.

But more likely to grab press attention were organizers' plans to award a distinguished presser's plaque to longtime anti-gun-control Reform MP Jack Ramsay. After a three-episode arc, the former *Moose* co-writer with the 1999 series

al assaults on two teenage mothers at the Pelican Narrows reserve in northern Saskatchewan. Ramsay, who resigned from the house in 1992 after exposing corruption among senior cabinet members, is scheduled for a preliminary hearing next year. Gun safety crusader Al Damsis says he surely is a lie. He speculates that the government may have leaked trumped-up information about Ramsay to the RCMP as part of a campaign to discredit opponents of the legislation. The question that should be asked is why it was resurrected at this time," he told *Medicine*. "It's very strange that it would come up 25 years after the fact." Damsis was worried that the media would play up the criminal charges rather than Ramsay's contributions to the firearms conversation. But the presser took on a go-around anyway. "If that's what is there it will be totally unfair," said Damsis. "We're not going to second-guess someone whose reputation is a good one."

EMPORIUM

According to a Statistics Canada survey the number of magazines and journals published in 1991-1992: **1,733** in 1996-1997: **1,892**
Total annual periodical circulation in 1991-1992: **876.1 million** in 1996-1997: **936.6 million**
Total revenues in 1991-1992: **\$953 million** in 1996-1997: **\$5.63 billion**
Advertising as a percentage of total revenue by periodical category in 1996-1997: general consumer: **48.4** business and trade: **86.2** news: **77.6** religious: **33.8**

GOLDFEAR POLL

Although a small majority of Canadians are opposed to cloning humans, a not nearly as large majority is not nearly as sure. In a poll conducted by the Globe and Mail, 54 per cent of Canadians are not sure about the prospect of cloning humans. By percentage of 1,400 adults surveyed

	Yes	British Columbia	Alberta	Ontario	Quebec	Atlantic Canada
Do you think cloning humans is acceptable?	61	63	58	52	51	55
Are cloning humans acceptable in the case of treating diseases?	42	45	42	48	38	29

DATA COLLECTED IN FEBRUARY 1997 SOURCE: GLOBE AND MAIL



DOUBLE TAKE

Michelle Cameron and Carolyn Waldo

The 1988 Olympics became an embarrassment for Canada when Ben Johnson failed a drug test and lost his gold medal for the 100 m. But other Canadians at Seoul helped minimize the damage to national pride. Among them were two women whose place in the pool captured the attention of the media. Michelle Cameron and Carolyn Waldo (who also won the solo gold medal) and Michelle Cameron looked like a couple of students, probably more at home in the water than on dry land. Actually, no. The two had barely gotten wet and being cold. They don't mind the cold of the water. Truth is, neither one of them ever had swimming all that much. But they had learned how as young

Waldo (left) with Cameron in 1988, and Cameron now, mid-pool

sters, partly because of the challenge it presented, and they persevered because synchronized competition appealed to them.

Waldo is now 33 and a sportsstar for CTV's *TV* in Ottawa. She says she has loved to swim in the water since the Olympics. Married to Canada Post marketing director Tom Baker, Waldo adds that when her children (now 3 and 5) are older, "maybe I'll get back in."

Cameron, 35, says she, too, has really been in the water, though she got into her parents' pool earlier than her peers because her children (who have three, the eldest aged 4) have started swimming lessons. Married to a Calgary developer, Alan Conder, Cameron works for a distributor of nutritional supplements. Any Olympic memories to go with her husband? "I took one a year to get the smell of chlorine out of my skin."

RAE CORBELL

POP MOVIES

A story with legs

In *Pinhead* Levin, Donald Sutherland delivers an Oscar-worthy performance as Bill Bowerman, the track coach who guided a long-distance runner Steve Prefontaine to fame and then the Nike shoe. Billy Crudup plays the barely competitive Prefontaine, whose career was cut short by a fatal car crash in 1975. Christian Bale plays Robert "Twelve" and directs

Box office weekend ending Sept. 21	1. <i>Twelve</i> (1975)	\$1,300,000
Box office weekend ending Sept. 21	2. <i>Twelve</i> (1975)	\$1,200,000
Box office weekend ending Sept. 21	3. <i>Twelve</i> (1975)	\$1,100,000
Box office weekend ending Sept. 21	4. <i>Twelve</i> (1975)	\$1,000,000
Box office weekend ending Sept. 21	5. <i>Twelve</i> (1975)	\$900,000
Box office weekend ending Sept. 21	6. <i>Twelve</i> (1975)	\$800,000
Box office weekend ending Sept. 21	7. <i>Twelve</i> (1975)	\$700,000
Box office weekend ending Sept. 21	8. <i>Twelve</i> (1975)	\$600,000
Box office weekend ending Sept. 21	9. <i>Twelve</i> (1975)	\$500,000
Box office weekend ending Sept. 21	10. <i>Twelve</i> (1975)	\$400,000

BEST-SELLERS

FICITION

1. *Twelve* (1975)
2. *Twelve* (1975)
3. *Twelve* (1975)
4. *Twelve* (1975)
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7. *Twelve* (1975)
8. *Twelve* (1975)
9. *Twelve* (1975)
10. *Twelve* (1975)

NONFICTION

1. *Twelve* (1975)
2. *Twelve* (1975)
3. *Twelve* (1975)
4. *Twelve* (1975)
5. *Twelve* (1975)
6. *Twelve* (1975)
7. *Twelve* (1975)
8. *Twelve* (1975)
9. *Twelve* (1975)
10. *Twelve* (1975)

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Volunteers and their victims

Thompson's new-old writer and Fred Prosser's volunteerism, I like a George Katsaris (Doughty & McInnis), recalls his chaotic experience with the Canadian youth program, Katsaris when he was 19. Katsaris was not from 1977 to 1980 and sent volunteers across the country to work on community projects for \$1 a day.



Passages



Ronsavsky in 1971
Ronsavsky was governor of the Bank of Canada from 1981 to 1993

DIED: Former Bank of Canada governor Louis Ronsavsky, 91, in Ottawa. The Montreal-born, Toronto-based accountant helped reform a pension system of international banks and finance. After 16 years as executive director of the International Monetary Fund, Ronsavsky was governor of the Bank of Canada from 1981 to 1993.

DIED: Former Alabama governor George C. Wallace, 79, of a blood infection, in Montgomery, Ala. Elected governor four times between 1962 and 1968, he was notorious for his segregationist policies. Wallace, whose legs were paralyzed after a 1972 assassination attempt, died in 1992 from the black community for his racist actions.

APOLYXIS DEMANDS: In Toronto, by Hockey Hall of Fame Bobby Hull, 59, from The Toronto Star's owner, Sun Media Corp., and the *Star* for publishing comments attributed to Hull in Russia about Russian hockey and hockey. Hull denied making the comments and threatened to sue for libel.

DIED: Former president of China Yang Shangkun, 91, in Beijing. A general who modernized the Chinese army, Yang went as the first Yang to clear student protesters from Tiananmen Square in 1989.

DIED: World-renowned Canadian neurosurgeon Dr. Charles Drake, 76, of lung cancer complications in London, Ont. In the early 1950s, Drake developed a surgical procedure to correct scoliosis at the base of the brain that was adopted worldwide.

WOMEN: Six Canadian Country Music Awards, by Sharon Tevin, 33, in Calgary.

HARRIED: Spice Girl Melanne Brown, better known as Scary Spice, 23, in Little Marlow, England. Brown is expecting the couple's first child.

AWARDED: The 1998 Robert L. Noble Prize for cancer research to Dr. Frank Graham, of McGill University, for his work with adenomas and tumors. The prize gives \$1,000 to the scientist and \$50,000 for a research project.

Looking for a spark

The Tory leadership race continues to stumble

BY BRUCE WALLACE

There was when a leadership race for the federal Progressive Conservative party brought to be a good spectacle, dramatic tension, some moments of low drama, perhaps, but a whiff of tragedy, too. This is the party that televised the vigils of John Diefenbaker and Joe Clark, and the dwindling band of Canadians who still call themselves federal Tories must have felt at least a shiver of old-time excitement about this 19th leadership race to replace the departed Jim Chace.

But so far, instead of ratcheting momentum of the party's colorful past, the contest has offered only indications of a dismal future. The first leadership debate in Burnaby, B.C., was sleepy and sparsely attended. One candidate—anti-American, anti-free-trade renegade David Orchard—is selling so many memberships that some Tories worry they may lose control of their party to someone they don't even consider a Progressive Conservative. And the party was just not a factor in last week's Sherbrooke, Que., federal by-election, the riding Church held for 34 years the Bloc Québécois narrowly won for the first time. The Liberals, with the Conservatives a distant third. Suddenly an audience to competing against one another, the five leadership candidates find themselves explaining why to one another to come about them as a group. "I don't think Canadians are sitting on the edge of their seats trying to figure out who should be the leader of the fifth-party party in this House of Commons," candidate Hugh Segal said bluntly in Ottawa last week. "They have real lives and things to worry about, and I think that's fine."

In farther lanes to these Canadians who may just lack in on politics occasionally, only one candidate can be described as a known national figure. Former prime minister Joe Clark, on what is merely a steep uphill climb to win his old job back, still has strangers stop to shake his hand and wish him luck, and now they did last week when he walked across the campus of the Université de Montréal. Clark tried walking in the private sector after quitting politics in



Clark, Orchard (right) worries about an underdog challenge from a Saskatchewan farmer who has sold 7,000 party memberships.

1980, but now he is back in his comfort zone, teaching Liberalism, teaching Reformers and trying to sell another national unity pitch to Quebec. It is accepted in party circles that while Segal's longtime backroom tactics may have agitated neither and better, Clark's naive recognition alone makes him the best runner for the job.

But Clark says he is worried about Orchard's underdog challenge. The Saskatchewan farmer has marketed anti-free-trade activists in various, the Green party and the nationalist Council of Canadian Citizens movement to sell 810 Tory membership cards on his behalf. And with party membership so low to begin with, Orchard has accumulated enough members—7,000 is the conservative figure even has opponents concede him—to be a serious contender. "He's alarmed," Clark told Monahan in Montreal last week after brushing his speech in French to a public, attentive student crowd. "There are ridings where David Orchard will be my main competition." At the Burnaby debate, Clark called Orchard "a noose" among the Tories. But if the party considers Orchard an underdog, it has only itself to blame. Stung by memories of how Kim Campbell was virtually crowned by the Tory establishment in 1980, the Conservatives changed their rules of engagement for this race. No convention is a sticky hockey rink. No blocks of votes reserved for party officials

or the overnight youth clubs formed for the purpose. This time, every member will vote in their federal riding with each of the 381 constituencies carrying equal weight.

With the number of active members in the party so low, the Tories were open to takeovers. Anyone wanting to vote for leader on the Oct. 24 first ballot must have taken out a membership card within the year, meaning the other campaign—Clark, Segal, former Manitoba cabinet minister Brian Peiser and Montreal lawyer Michael Forster—are instinctively looking down names on old Tory lists to register them to renew their membership. "Most people don't focus on an event until close to the day," said Clark. "And we're going to have a lot of people who will think about voting but won't have cards."

Clark's rivals expect the Orchard threat with a little more equanimity. They say the former prime minister is worried because he needs a first ballot victory to avoid a showdown with a likely "Anybody but Clark" movement on a second ballot. And every Orchard membership sold means the bar on the number of votes needed to get that first-ballot win. Segal was disappointed when asked about Orchard last week saying only "it's hard to get a handle on what's really going on" until the membership drive is out of the Sept. 29 deadline. But Segal's advisers are less cautious, one of them insisting that Orchard "is a pain in the ass because he's got these long wavy legs, but he is not serious at all."

In fact, the Segal camp senses Clark is exaggerating Orchard's threat simply to avoid a head-to-head confrontation with a candidate. The two men share many of the same views and had been widely expected to make his a two-way race. That hasn't happened yet, partly because Clark has skillfully left little doubt between them on policy, making it harder for Segal to find grounds for a showdown. But the normally sharp and witty Segal has also been strangely reticent.



to really go after the former prime minister with any flourish. Segal had planned to attack Clark in Burnaby, but inexplicably opted for politeness on the point of confrontation. He spent the next three days looking himself for his failure, suggesting to associates that the mood in the room had been "too polite." A single moment, and I would have said I had been rude to a former prime minister. "Given the poor turnout and low voltage dynamics, the real question is who would have notice?" The candidates blamed party brass for the public relations debacle (choosing to hold the first debate in French-Columbia, where the party received just six per cent of the popular vote in the last election, injected "a lack of courage," said Segal, choosing his words carefully). Party officials fired back that the candidates had vowed all seats would be filled, and then failed to get their people out. But all Tories agreed the "dialogues," as they prefer to call them, need some atmosphere.

Segal served notice last week that he would meet that challenge, stepping out in Ottawa at a poorly attended news conference to hammer Clark as "an empty vessel of boring no-brain ideas," and saying party members "do not want to hear the clock tick 20 years." Segal has released several policy papers during the campaign in an attempt to broaden his range as a political thinker, and he seemed at Clark's less specific proposals on issues like constitutional reform. "He needs more ideas, he can't just steal mine," said Segal. "He's been trying to live me as a policy adviser for 35 years and he's not about to get me now." Segal's toughest challenge is to find a way to raise Clark's reputation as a leader the last time he led the party—without actually using such negative terms. Segal says all he has to do is present Clark's record as evidence, but there is a risk of appearing angry in doing so.

Attacking Clark personally may be more difficult than when the Brian Mulroney crowd undermined him with a whisper campaign in the early 1980s. Clark is arguably a far more pathetic figure now: his image as a blustering politician has been hurt by a strong performance as Mulroney's foreign minister, the recent gay-loving press war to a self-declared victim. "I'm beyond the help of inner conservatives," he pled at his campaign launch in Calgary last June. The students in Montreal showed empathy as well. During one answer, he suddenly became lost for a word, unable to come up with it in either French or English for what seemed like an untermittable pause. But the students tried to help him out, laughing with him in his discomfort but without any malice.

Clark is pleading that change in public attitude for political advantage. "The personal issue is being out of this position in which I'm trusted in the country," he says, "tricked at a time when few people are trusted." To his Tory leadership opponents, answers to open a window or two on the front-runner (that is not enough in Burnaby, Forster bid to use the almost direct attack on "professional politicians" against Clark and seemed disappointed for doing it). More successfully, Polak also attacked the former prime minister for having no new ideas, suggesting that Orchard and Orchard would be the agents of the new tide they discuss on the History Channel—on at least closer mandate that Clark's political career may be serving its "utility" date.

But the campaign will almost surely change once the membership drive closes on Sept. 29 and the size and composition of the voting pool is known. That is when Tories will be able to accurately measure what is so far only alleged: the strength of Segal's mandate, the depth of Clark's appeal, and, perhaps most interesting, the amount of Orchard's support. "You know," said Clark, retreating to his Orchard theme, "his people are from another generation, their values are from the '60s. They're 'cause people, and I'd like to buy a membership for the PC party to do a little mischief is not much to them. They're the wrong whites one day, and now they're turned their rights on us." For now, it's the only dance in a race that needs more—but Tories may squint at the competition to a threatened species.



Wreckage on the ocean bed, rising in underwater equipment (left), jagged shards

Transportation Safety Board's chief investigator did acknowledge that the flight crew detected a stall in the cockpit about 35 minutes before their initial distress call at 10:04 pm Atlantic time—16 minutes before the plane crashed.

The retrieval efforts that continue this week—and likely for many weeks to come—are aimed at resolving the mystery of what happened in those intervening minutes. Investigators were especially keen to recover any or all of the cockpit, including motion and electrical components, that might help determine levels of heat stress and trace the source of the problems facing the pilots. Electronic controls from the engines, once recovered, may also provide data on the air craft's speed when it crashed.

In the meantime, the grim task of identifying victims continued. RCMP forensic specialists announced that they had used DNA patterns to establish genetic profiles for 142 of the people aboard Swissair Flight 111. Such genetic links may prove crucial because of the difficulty of identifying the badly mangled human remains through more conventional methods such as dental records and fingerprints. But by week's end, only 30 of the 229 victims had been positively identified.

As the investigation progressed, Swissair officials also reported that the doomed aircraft had been carrying some 50 kg of white shales, including 40 kg of barite and 4.8 kg of galena, as well as some waste rock and diamonds. Also on board a panning by Pablo Picasso titled *The Painter*, valued at \$2.2 million, Swissair declined to identify the owners of any of the valuables, citing the need to protect the privacy of their customers.

While the Picasso painting, shipped in a normal freight container, was presumably destroyed, the other valuables may have survived the crash in strongboxes. That in turn raised the spectre of treasure hunters combing the wreckage site—something RCMP and military spokesmen said they would strictly police. With the puzzle of Swissair Flight 111 still so far from being solved, such distractions were clearly unelcome.

BRIAN BERGMAN is in Halifax

CANADA

Operation Persistence

Recovering Swissair Flight 111 will take weeks

Come as you were after such a major tragedy. It was obviously a tricky subject. But for the dozens of fishermen who gathered late last week at the Legion hall near Peages Cove, N.S., it was one that had to be faced. Since Swissair Flight 111 crashed into the waters off Peages Cove on Sept. 2, killing all 229 people aboard, about 350 fishermen had been barred from working near the wreckage site during what is normally peak fishing season. The grim herd men at the hall—many of whom had jumped into their boats to search for survivors in the dark, desperate hours after the crash—needed to know who would help them pay their mortgages and feed their families. Following the meeting, Swissair officials said they would provide short-term financial assistance for families in need—welcome news for the fiers of Garfield Zook, a fisherman from East Dover. "No one wanted to push the issue," said Zook. "I mean, everyone has the greatest sympathy for the families. But life must go on."

And so must the investigation into why Geneva-based Swissair Flight 111 fell out of the skies just a little over an hour after taking off from New York City's John F. Kennedy International Airport. Last week, hundreds of transportation safety investigators, military searchers and RCMP forensic

specialists continued to probe the wreckage from the doomed Boeing MD-11 aircraft for clues. Dubbed Operation Persistence, the effort certainly lived up to its name. Throughout the week, 177 divers descended as deep as 60 m to the ocean floor to retrieve human remains and small pieces of the jet. Century to century indicates very few larger sections of the aircraft survived the violent impact with the sea. In fact, sonar detector videos released by the military revealed a mass of tangled debris, with metal edges sharp and jagged enough to pierce the divers' wet suits or snag the cord that provides their power and oxygen. "This is a dangerous operation," said navy Capt. Phil Webster, "and we have to be slow, and steady and safe all the way through."

Investigators also confirmed last week that the cockpit voice recorder, retrieved on Sept. 11, stopped working six minutes before the plane hit the water—at least the flight data recorder, recovered five days earlier. That rendered speculation of a massive electrical failure associated with conditions—including, perhaps, a fire in the cockpit—that made the aircraft unsalvageable during the final moments. Under Canadian law the cockpit conversations captured by the recorder cannot be disclosed—any they would be had the accident occurred in American jurisdiction. But Vice Gordon,

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**ROYAL ROADS
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Awaiting answers

An inquiry prepares to probe the APEC summit

It is hardly Zieglerite North. But a host of documents whose existence on the Internet was disclosed on Sept. 9 two days before the Starr report appeared there, may prove politically damaging to new President Clinton, even as sexual indiscretions threaten the political future of his American golfing partner. The documents—briefing notes prepared for the Prime Minister, diplomatic memos and e-mail from senior police officers—had been on the Internet for months. Passed by students, they are a fraction of the evidence mounting an inquiry into the RCMP's handling of security at last November's Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver—during which the Montreal-based printers with pepper spray. The documents strongly suggest that the Prime Minister's Office had set a red carpet for gamblers pursuing scandal-disposed Indonesian president Suharto, even as it instructed the Montreal cops to "keep demonstrators out of the Clinton's sight" at any cost.

A closer look at those explosive charges was put off until next week, however, when an RCMP Public Complaints Commission panel in Vancouver, sprouting under the auspices of the federal solicitor general's department, adjourned the inquiry on Sept. 14 after only 2½ hours. That criticism of the police measure remains strong. Government that had international leaders have an obligation to protect them, notes Warren Alderson, president of the Montreal-based International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development. "But to go around and pull down signs and pepper-spray demonstrators. That's some thing else," says the former Liberal solicitor general. "Was it approved by the Prime Minister? Or was it ignored?"

When reporters first asked Chrétien such questions hours after the police action at the summit, the Prime Minister joked about the matter. Over the past few weeks, he has declined any role in APEC security—until his name was tied to the matter. The inquiry. But Chrétien says he is declining without the web of evidence that a detailed investigation, waiting for the commission has announced



Spectators at the inquiry: Chrétien greeting Suharto last November (inset) in a widening web of evidence



over next month. Much of it points to the PMO having taken a direct hand in security arrangements for Suharto's visit. And Chrétien may findly under-represented panel counsel Chris Cassidy's willingness to take his on. "If I believe, it will call him in."

Someday, maybe. For the moment the inquiry is scheduled to resume on Oct. 2. Several young activists whose complaints about their treatment at the hands of the RCMP last November prompted the formation of the three-member panel in February now insist they, like Chrétien, will not testify

Against their objection, the panel has refused to fund their legal costs, while government paid lawyers represent both the RCMP and 49 individual members of the force who are parties to the inquiry. "This is a police body," says Alison Westergaard Thorpe, one of those arrested at the summit. "It is run by the solicitor general, the same man who runs the RCMP, the same man who denied us funding, the same man who depends on the Prime Minister for his job."

But lack of participation by some activists is unlikely to impede the panel's work. They will begin with the accounting of 40 minutes of video of events last Nov. 25, when demonstrators clashed with pepper-spray-wielding police. Other complainants will testify under subpoena—as will at least two Chrétien advisers: chief of staff Jean Charest and longtime aide Jean Carle, Charest's former chief of operations. Dozens of Mounties are also expected to take the stand.

And there will be more evidence. Cassidy says he will table 11 thick bundles of documents and communications. Some may shed fresh light on just how many foreign security agents at the APEC summit were armed. The RCMP acknowledged last week that it reversed a long-standing policy to allow bodyguards of eight of the 18 APEC leaders to carry guns. At least one Mountie has suggested police were obliged to disperse protesters by force rather than expose them to trigger-happy bodyguards.

But other evidence still to come will include, notes Jonathan Oppenheimer, a UBC doctoral student in physics who is among the complainants. "The idea we were persecuted to protect us in Indonesia," says Oppenheimer, who was shot at arrested before a summit reception. "There is just a jumble of documentary evidence indicating the RCMP on site personnel were co-opted about that." Added 33-year-old archiving law student Craig Jones, who was arrested outside his Ottawa residence while holding a sign saying "Democracy." "That's not about pepper spray—it's about the government deciding what political speech will be tolerated." For the PMO, a full airing of that charge may bring the RCMP probe uncomfortably close to home.

CHRIS WOOD is in Montreal

Bottom of the ninth

André Baerle looking about spending \$299 on a brick engraved with his name. For the ardent Montreal Expos fan, the purchase has nothing to do with money. It is part of the Expos' marketing scheme in their bid to raise \$250 million for a new 35,000-seat stadium in the downtown core, complete with natural grass—and a facade of engaged locals. But to the dismay of diehard fans and civic boosters, that target may be as out of reach as a World Series title. On Sept. 30, club owners are scheduled to decide whether to forge ahead with their project, which they say is essential to keeping the Expos in Montreal, or sell the team—likely precipitating a new franchise city. "I never came here if it's going to fail," Baerle, 58, a retired letter carrier, said of the Expos' local raising as he sat in the stands recently around a sparse crowd of 7,282 at cavernous Olympic Stadium. "It's taking too long to settle."

Outside, André Durost was equally worried about the team's fate as he cruised along in his bus heading to the Expos game on the radio. Durost, 61, who regularly springs for \$10 Expos tickets is also planning to buy a brick. "If we don't get this stadium," he says, "we can kiss this city goodbye." Fans can only hope that other Mounties begin to share that sense of urgency. With its self-imposed deadline looming, the club is well short of the \$100 million it hoped to raise as private financing. And so far, it has run up against a brick wall in its efforts to land \$150 million of public money.

With little public outcry over the Expos' plight, unlike Ottawa nor Quebec City have lent to the club's defense. Montreal Mayor MP Martin Courchesne, the federal minister responsible for economic development issues affecting Quebec, told Montreal's last week. "Given the current fiscal situation, it would be very difficult for the Canadian government to get involved." With an election looming, Quebec's Parti Québécois government has repeatedly ruled out financial aid—direct or indirect—for the team. Asked last week whether he was optimistic that the stadium would be built, Expos shareholder



The Expos' drive for a new stadium is faltering

Baerle (right) empty stands the team may leave town



Mark Reiterberg, chairman of Grandjean in Canada, said weily. "It depends on what hour of the day you speak to me."

The team could potentially get a reprieve. Although Expos president and general partner Claude Brochu has been adamant about sticking to the Sept. 30 deadline, a few of the other Expos owners have expressed interest in extending it. Two-thirds of the 13-corporate ownership consortiums—all Quebec-based, including Brochu, Bell Canada Enterprises and Uteco (Uteco) Inc., with the exception of Toronto-based publisher Art Zeman—must approve the club's sale. A majority of the owners could opt instead to extend the deadline for a year. As for the current project spearheaded by Brochu, Jean Lapierre, the host of a popular Montreal radio talk show, believes it is doomed. "It hasn't pulled the business community, the public or politicians," he contends.

The marketing of the project has not gone as well as hoped. With its ownership consortium, Brochu, who declined Montreal's requests for an interview, has taken much of the heat for the lackluster campaign. "There are a lot of people," said another Expos shareholder. "Who question his leadership." There was speculation that Serge Savard, the popular former Canadiens hockey player, might become the pitchman for the project, but so far that hasn't happened. Savard has been promoting the new stadium, but has spent most of September out of the country.

The concept of an open downtown ballpark with natural grass has won some public support as a better venue to which baseball than the sterile concrete Olympic Stadium located in the city's east end. The club contends that a downtown park is essential to generating more revenue through higher attendance. But many critics have basted the club's owners for not leveraging their own money into the project, and for initially overlooking their neighbor's fundraising effort on the business community, rather than making a broader public appeal. So far, the club has raised about \$80 million through the seat-leveraging, which simply gave fans the right to buy a seat in the new stadium even as it built. But instead of selling 18,000 licenses as hoped, the Expos have sold only 4,500, meaning a price from \$200 to \$200 more.

The slow sales also reflected local skepticism the club has alienated fans in recent years. After a dazzling but under-performed season in 1994, the Expos have yearly shed some of their finest players, from Larry Walker to Moses Alon, pleading an inability to pay their top dollar. The Expos clearly hoped to lure fans with their recent signing of Vladimir Guerrero, a heavily advertised free agent. The club says the five-year contract for \$45 million signals its commitment to building a competitive team. That deal has won approval from fans, like Baerle, who cheered his former teammate last year after one of the Expos' intense dumps. Now, he is considering helping out his team again, but by buying a brick. But will other fans follow? And will the owners stick to their deadline? These are the crucial questions in the contest to decide the Expos' future hangs into the bottom of the ninth.

BRENDA HUNSWELL in Montreal

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SEX AND LIES

BY JANE O'HARA

A woman admits she once had an affair with her sister's boyfriend. When confronted with it, she says "The first thing out of my mouth was a lie." That little lie turned into a big fat lie, until she couldn't lie any more. When she finally admitted the truth, her sister started throwing things at her. "It was horrible," she said. A Jewish man couldn't have been used to date his WASP girlfriend when he was cheating on her. "I would tell her I'd been at the synagogue," he says sheepishly. "It wasn't even a high holiday, but what did she know?" In another case, a wife who prided herself on knowing where her husband was 24 hours a day uncovered his elaborate scheming after a late-night phone call. She dialed 911 to retrieve the caller's number. A woman answered, and the two talked to meet. There, the duped wife got a another shock: the mistress told her that the affair had ended—because the husband had taken up with yet another woman.

These are not fiction and scary stories from Washington, where President Bill Clinton's sex scandal has taken on the proportions of a capital crime. They are the lies and deceptions of everyday Canadians, tales of betrayal at once banal and belated. Clearly these people are not proud of their behavior; they didn't want their names used or the ethics they live in identified. Yet their experiences represent the moral ambiguity that lurks between right and wrong, into which many people stray at some point in their lives. Said the woman who slept with her sister's boyfriend: "I understand that Clinton's first impulse was to lie. I know I wasn't supposed to do it, but I did. I'm such a straightforward, reliable person normally."

Blood-scribbles in official Washington may be puzzling over what they are now calling "the disconnect"—the huge gap between the blistering outrage of pundits and the ongoing path-



he approval of Clinton. But in stark clarity, most people know that few lives would be able to withstand the kind of four-year \$60-million scrutiny that independent counsel Kenneth Starr has focused on the President. Worse, they cringe at the thought of the intimate details of their sex lives being transcribed by the media into hard copy. It seems that lower Canadians need fear the scrutiny less than their American cousins: according to a 1993 poll, only two in 10 admit to having had extramarital sex—half the American figure. And of those who have had affairs, 66 percent say they would try to work things out in their relationships. And perhaps they are doing just that—the total number of divorces has been dropping in Canada this decade, from 70,004 in 1992 to 71,528 in 1996.

Indeed, when it comes to extramarital sex, Canadians seem to be developing considerable tolerance. According to a 1997 *Maclean's*/CBC poll, fully one-third of the nation that is not totally unacceptable for someone as a long-term relationship to have an affair. That sort of liberal baby-boomer morality confounds religious fanatics, dissenting right-wing Republicans and even nervous Democrats. No matter what the public hears about the President, no matter how strong the denunciations or how unseemly his revelations, the poll numbers hold firm. Since January, when the name Monica Lewinsky was peddled in beside Gennifer Flowers and Paula Jones on the presidential scandal sheet, more than 60 per cent of Americans have continued to approve of what Clinton is doing in office, a far greater number than ever



WANDERINGS OF THE RICH AND FAMOUS:

Prominent couples—Hugh Grant and Elizabeth Hurley; Hillary and Bill Clinton (top); Prince Charles and Diana (below)—with the dubious distinction of having the male partner's dalliances paraded in the media



voted for him. Despite round the clock finger-wagging on American TV, or media reports of the '90s version of the Zapruder film—lastings of Lewinsky, with the black belt, hugging Clinton in the Rose Garden—Americans may be holding their noses, but so far, they are still standing by their man. In short, they recognize the presidential fallibility as a pragmatic personal tragedy, not a crime of the scope of Watergate. "I don't think Clinton should be impeached," and the man who led to his preferred about being at the synagogue. "It's just really embarrassing for him. It's like sitting in therapy with the whole nation as your therapist."

Not everyone is so quick to forgive the President. In a television interview last week, American's first-and-bronziest psychologist Dr. Laura Schlessinger sternly denounced Clinton's behavior as a grand betrayal of his wife, Hillary and daughter Chelsea. Even Sober, a Dallas woman who admits to having had numerous affairs, is not sure the President should stay in office. "I've done some bad things," she said. "But I'm not running a country. I can't look at him the same way any more."

But Clinton's continuing high levels of support come as no surprise to Santa Barbara, Calif., psychologist Guy Hendricks who, with his wife, Kathryn, commands \$5,500 a day to counsel couples with rocky marriages. "People tend to forgive Clinton because they're compassionate towards their own weaknesses," says Hendricks. "I think people are using this as an opportunity to look at their own behavior."

Blame North Americans no shame? Or



Some spouses are so clever their partners would need tracking dogs to prove their infidelities—but most give strong signals

have sex scandals of the high and mighty lost their ability to shock? Five years ago, Prince Charles made a fool of himself when he was caught bedding his mistress, Camilla Parker Bowles, that he would like to be her taxpayer. But when American basketball giant Will Chamberlain bragged that he had slept with 20,000 women, people took out their calculators and his book sales soared. Three years ago, when British actor Hugh Grant was arrested with a hooker on Sunset Boulevard in Los Angeles, movie executives feared his career was over. The boyish cast of *Crucial Catch* on late-night TV saved him, and his beautiful girlfriend, Elizabeth Hurley, obviously forgave him.

Why, then, is there so little support for Clinton in a sign that North Americans are sliding down a slippery moral slope; others think that the public has just become more accepting of human faults, whether their own or the President's. For the past 30 years, Vancouver therapist Miriam Urych has listened to the secrets of hundreds of clients. She has heard it all, and commercial sex, followed by lies, is a common theme in her office. On one occasion, she counseled a man who, like Clinton, believed that sex was really being sophisticated and he had chosen the live-at-work sex. So why was he in therapy? Because his mistress was upset that he wouldn't penetrate her vaginally. In other words, she wanted him to commit.

Out of both professional and personal interest, Urych took note on Sept. 14 when the Starr report was released. On channel after channel, middle-aged anchor-men looking both excited and press, spoke of "the scandal, land" drama. After sitting through the var-

ious reports, Urych says that, despite the overhyped play by play, the only thing that distinguishes the Clinton Lewinsky story from the litany of these infidelities is the location. "The most surprising thing was that he did it in the White House," says Urych. "Beyond that, it seemed an incredibly ordinary event. It was an older man and a younger woman, an office romance. This is the stuff of many people's lives. In some ways, it may make Clinton more human to the ordinary Joe because now they can say to themselves, 'hey, he's just like us.'"

That will be cold comfort to the women who have been cheated on, says Sally Warren, author of *Don't Let a Stranger Gildy for the Flower*. After three *60 Minutes* interviews with North American women who were in their married or in long-term relationships when the men in their lives left them for other women, Warren says that most women are usually surprised when their husbands announce they are leaving. They have ignored warning signs. She describes one woman whose husband went for a walk during Thanksgiving dinner, saying he wanted some fresh air. She found out later he was calling his mistress. "The universal reaction of the women I interviewed is, 'How could I be so stupid?'" says Warren. "Usually, they just accepted explanations that he was having problems at work, upset at marriage 50 or just going through a bad patch."

Susan, a 50-year-old mother of two from Montreal, had suspected her husband of cheating well before he admitted it. "It was just a feeling I had," she recalls. "There are signs, definite signs." Among these, her husband seemed less interested in her con-



AN AFFAIR TO REMEMBER: Norbury says that she "felt only a twinge of guilt about his wife because I had never met her"

tiously and far more critical of her appearance. Finally, after 15 years of marriage, Susan confronted her husband. He denied he was having an affair, but two years later moved out to live with a female co-worker. "I knew he was lying," she says. "When you live with someone for that long, you know when they're lying and when they're not."

But some men are so clever that their wives would need a tracking dog to discover their infidelities. One Quebec writer discovered his mistress in a completely domestic setting: her own apartment with a full set of pots and pans. "This only led me down to what I called Red River Cereal for him in the morning," said the former mistress, now happily married to someone else. And meet Frank, a self-proclaimed, white-collar professional from the Phoenix, who had numerous affairs while his wife remained oblivious. A member of the Aaa, Frank says his former infidelities, an Olympic of adultery, too, once said: "The best aphorism is a good woman." Maybe so, although Frank was drawn to divorce. "I'm looking for a way out as soon as I can," admits Frank, now divorced and living amicably with his common-law wife. "The old cliché—there are 50 ways to leave your lover—is true. But it's always painful."

How do you know when you're living with an unrepentant Frank? Caroline Keating, an associate professor of psychology at Colgate University in Hamilton, N.Y., is an expert in deception, with a sub-specialty in lying and leadership. Whether it's with preschoolers or CEOs of companies, her research shows that the people who rise to the top are the serious ones, leaders of lies. And Clinton is at the top of that class, not because of what he says as much as how he presents himself. "First, not a politician who hasn't lied," says Keat-

FROM THE KIDS' PERSPECTIVE

I may be the starkest sex scandal in political history, but most teens are too cool to care. Last week, only days after the release of independent counsel Kenneth Starr's tell-all report about President Bill Clinton's illicit affair, students at Toronto's James Collegiate Institute shook their heads in emphatic indifference. "So he had an affair—no one's going to care about that," said one 15-year-old male student, hanging out on the school's front steps. "I'm not very interested," declared a 16-year-old senior, her diamond nose stud glinting in the noonday sun. "Harris America had a history of presidents fooling around." Some dismiss Clinton's humiliation as an American problem. "It has nothing to do with us," complains one Grade 10 girl, flexing her biceps. "I don't want to know that Clinton got a cigar in Monica Lewinsky's vagina!" wonders See Johnson, host of the popular *Sunday Night Sex Show*. "Little kids can't read, but they can catch it on talk shows," she notes. "They are going to ask, 'Morning, what's a cool sex?'"

Highlights: "Sometimes we talk about how he should be indicted and stuff," says Lailie Dill, 14. But, she admits, few of her friends take Clinton seriously. "Mostly it's just joking."

Still, as the *X*-rated antics of the American President filter down to schoolyards and video parlors, many parents worry that the hard-core details may disturb young children as well as teens. "It's on children's minds," says Frances Block, a professor of child and youth care at the University of Victoria. "It's a dilemma for parents—just don't want to minimize it, yet there are some things that kids get exposed to in the media." In an age when children are bombarded by images of sex and violence, some believe that the White House scandal has broken another taboo. "Did we really need to know that Clinton got a cigar in Monica Lewinsky's vagina?" wonders See Johnson, host of the popular *Sunday Night Sex Show*. "Little kids can't read, but they can catch it on talk shows," she notes. "They are going to ask, 'Morning, what's a cool sex?'"



MORAL EDUCATION: English talks cynically about adult behavior

Experts tell parents to answer their children's questions about Clinton's affair openly, and at a level the child will understand. Open by ignoring adult sex, says Johnson. "Ask, 'How did it affect you?' If you feel they have opened up, assess what they know and don't know," she recommends. Then, fill in the missing information. For a five-year-old, she suggests, it may be enough to say, "Henry, that's part of being sexual. And you know what? It is for big people, not for children. That would be absolutely wrong."

Open more detail to 14-year-olds. "Oh, yeah, explain that oral-genital sex is kissing each other's genitals. That's all you've got to say."

Last week, the Atlanta-based Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported that sexual activity among teens had increased by nearly one-third since the beginning of the decade. Still, nearly 50 per cent of high school students engage in sexual intercourse, and experts say parents would be wise to think that most teens do not know about oral sex. Johnson says that since more

teens now experiment with oral sex before they attempt intercourse, parents might want to use this opportunity to talk about safer sex. She points out, "Monica had been around a while. Let Billy have been around a lot. Could he have herpes? Could she?"

Clinton's affair also provides an obvious opportunity to discuss sexual ethics. But while parents attempt to guide their children through the moral and sexual reasons that bedevil Clinton, they may unconsciously transmit contrary messages through their own behavior. "Adults are playing with this in a way public is not, at all parties, at work, over the Internet, in e-mail," says Phoebe. "I'm not sure we are as conscious as we need to be that children are watching us." A joke or snicker about Lewinsky could undermine the most carefully worded lesson, she warns. Many teens, like Mike Eagles, a Grade 13 Jarvis student, are already cynical about the discrepancy between adults' actions and their words. "If you consider how many sexual affairs go on every day," says Eagles, "Clinton's shouldn't really be of particular importance."

SHARON DOYLE DEEDGER

ing. "We've grown to accept deception as dominance. Clinton is very good at controlling his nonverbal behavior—lowered eyebrows, a direct stare—and people are reassured by those dominance displays. That's about power. That's a man who can lead."

Kesting says that in some ways, the public demands deception from its leaders. "We don't want our leaders to be weak, to be sick, to be unfaithful or forgetful," she says. "So they learn to act. When they're tired, they don't show it when they're sick, they pretend they are not. If a leader is afraid his country may lose a battle, he's not allowed to show that either. We want a leader who inspires confidence."

Clearly, people also make distinctions about the seriousness of lies. Which is why, Kesting believes, the public has cut Clinton some slack, even though it is clear he lied about having sex with Lewinsky. He's not alone in this. In the standard operating manual on affairs, the first instruction upon being found out is to deny, deny, deny. Kesting says that one of the reasons research on sexual behavior—from Kinsey to the Ate report—is so notoriously unreliable is because people lie so much about their sex lives.

Rosemarie Norbury, a 65-year-old Vancouver photographer, wasn't looking for an affair when she met George (not his real name). After a few dates, she realized they weren't going to be compatible socially, but enjoyed one another sexually. "I liked going to outdoor parties and talking and he had no social skills," she says. "We'd go to a party and he'd stand there like a duck." Norbury had an affair with him for 10 years, in which time he married, divorced and remarried. "The first time he married, he told me he wouldn't be seeing me any more and I said, 'Fine.'"

recalls Norbury. "But three months later, he wanted to start up again. He told a bunch of goss about his wife because I had never met her and I never initiated the sex. It was always him. It was so commonplace, to me, even late last in the bedroom." The affair finally ended when he never married for the second time and didn't want to cheat on his new wife.

It may be safe to say that all affairs are a sign that something is wrong with a marriage. But many marriages survive them, particularly those, according to Vancouver therapist Ellen Tullman, that are just casual flings, sexual escapades provoked by the monotony of companionship or the thrill of being dangerously. Tullman puts Clinton's affair with Lewinsky in the latter category. According to Lewinsky's testimony, she performed and sexed up the President 10 times in 16 months, the President allegedly locked up against a door in order to "come his own back." They had phone sex, too. But Lewinsky adds that on one occasion, Clinton fell asleep while she was talking

to him. And she was angry with him another time when he blamed her and she noticed that his eyes were wide open, looking out a window. Lewinsky also admits that when she asked Clinton if he would take her into the residential part of the White House—where the first couple actually live—the President said no.

These were all signs to Tullman that Clinton was literally just dealing around it, and not interested in any relationship that engendered his marriage. "A lot of men in power have so much responsibility

Many marriages survive the sexual escapades triggered by the monotony of monogamy



GARDEN-VARIETY CHEATING Ulrich says that, other than its lechery, Clinton's delinquency was typical

in their lives that they just want a quick blow job and be done," said Tullman. "They don't want to have to do any more work. Although what he did was outrageous and unforgivable, it's as if he were gambling on the side or secretly drinking."

A seasoned philosopher like Frank understands why Clinton was prepared to take the risk he did with Lewinsky. "Basically, it's the hormones," he says. "There are people who would never have affairs and there are others who are drawn to them like a moth to a flame." Clinton appears to fall into the latter category. But for all his experience, he seems to have forgotten what Freud calls the one cardinal rule of seduction: "Never bed around with someone who has less to lose than you do."

PHOTOGRAPHER: NORTON; STYLING: BRENDA BRANDELL
in Montreal: JOHN DEWITT in Ottawa: BARBARA WICKENS and
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Fears of a sexual witch-hunt

Somehow, they think like glue. Henry Hyde is a six-foot, three-inch brawler with a mane of silver hair who has been called "inspected" so often that it might as well be part of his name—in the widely respected *Hyde*. He is also chairman of the judiciary committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, the very body called upon to decide whether President Bill Clinton should undergo the ordeal of impeachment.

So when Hyde was abruptly dragged through the mud last week, the fallout ended up lagging longer than Clinton's fate could be weighed in the calm manner that legislators claim to want. An odious magazine, considered close to the White House, revealed an emotional affair that Hyde conducted 30 years ago. Worse, he was the third Republican to have embarrassing details of his private life unveiled in the past month. Suddenly, the tide was of sexual witch-hunts, sexual McCarthyism, even sexual Armageddon. Could Clinton really be trying to smear his critics as so blatant a liar?

Probably not. In all three cases, including Hyde's, there were plausible explanations of why the hidden corners of politicians' past lives would be exposed now without any provocation from the White House. But with Clinton revealed on a public bar in the *Monica Lewinsky* affair, his critics knew they could get away with accusing him and his associates of the lowest type of political behavior—without offering a shred of evidence. "I have no doubt who is behind it," charged Tom DeLay, the Republican whip in the House. "I just don't have the proof." When impeachment passed, Kenneth Starr sent his damning report on the Lewinsky sally to Capitol Hill on Sept. 8, charging Clinton with 11 impeachable offenses, the politicians rushed to write the rules, but they would go over the evidence carefully and thoughtfully. By the end of last week, they were at one another's throats.

It really got dirtier—quite literally—last week Hyde's committee spent much of last week peering over 2,800 pages of grand jury testimony that Starr used to support his 645-page report to Congress. Republicans were adamant that as much of the material as possible be made public, and they soon set the time—9 a.m. on Monday, just as members were preparing to address the United Nations General Assembly in New York City. The documents were considered to be every bit as graphic as the Starr report's unflattering accounts of the 20 sexual encounters inside the White House between Clinton and Lewinsky—on some cases, more than 10.

Even worse for Clinton, Hyde was due to release the value of the President's testimony before the grand jury. The White House and

Democrats on Hyde's committee argued insistently that a transcript would be enough, that reading the tape public would only further inflame an already humbled President. Much of his testimony is already known—the Starr report quoted key parts of it. But the political aspect could be enormous when tens of millions of people see Clinton subjected to a barrage of questions about what type of sex he had with Lewinsky ("U she says that you kissed her breasts, would she be lying?"). Or when voters watch Clinton fence with Starr's lawyers over such seemingly straightforward questions as whether he was ever alone with Lewinsky ("It depends on how you define alone," he smiled). And Clinton knows his temper at one point—and storms stand, a glimpse of the anger he is feared for, but which is rarely seen in public. Democratic strategists

ANDREW PHILLIPS
IN WASHINGTON

The release of Clinton's video testimony will only make Washington's political war dirtier



PROTESTING A PRESIDENT Demonstrators swirl Clinton's motorcade outside Clinton's family restaurant.

now how damaging those images may be. For Republicans, the risk is backlash—a public backlash against just every case.

With the stakes so high, it was no surprise that the politicians' public hopes for calm debate came to little. The surprise was perhaps how quickly they ended and in such a seamy manner. For weeks, there had been suggestions that an release of the Starr report named open was might be declared on the moral and sexual failings of members of Congress. No one doubted that the 125 members of the House and 100 senators have their fair share of do-boys in the closet. "This is a human institution," said Mark Souder, a Republican congressman from South Carolina. "Like it or as a given that we'd still go on."

Rumors began circulating that the White House might conduct a so-called scorched-earth policy—arranging for dirt on its enemies to be spread liberally around. There would be nothing new in that.



STAYING CLOSE Hillary Clinton and her husband at a White House function.

Monks changing sexual involvement with Clinton—such as Paula Jones and Kathleen Willey—had been subjected to fierce attacks by the President's defenders. Clinton's stepbrother, Roger, was sent on a national talk show in August and issued a not-so-veiled threat: "There are some of the political people that had best watch their selves because of the old glass-house story," he said. "Be very careful."

The first sexual glass-breaking came in early September, when Dan Burton, a prominent Republican congressman from Indiana, admitted he had fathered an illegitimate son in the 1980s. *Weekly Fair* magazine was asking questions about his past, and he decided to pre-empt them. Burton chairs a House committee investigating the Democrats' campaign finance scandals, and earlier this year called Clinton a "scoundrel." He claimed the White House was behind the expose, but offered no proof. A week later, ultra-conservative Idaho Republican Hefley Chenoweth admitted she had conducted a secret affair in the 1960s with a married man. The Idaho Statehouse said it reported as the long-married liaison between Chenoweth's ex-husband and his wife's sister and on TV's attack on Clinton over Lewinsky.

POLL OF POLLS

Most polls taken last week in the wake of the Starr report's release showed President Bill Clinton's approval rating holding steady at around 60 per cent. Not a majority of respondents still believe Clinton acted illegally in the Monica Lewinsky affair, and only half have a "favorable" opinion of him. A sampling of responses to surveys by six major news and polling partnerships.

Approves of the job Clinton is doing	62%
Oppose Clinton's impeachment	56%
Don't think Clinton should resign	66%
Favor Congress censuring Clinton	60%
Agree House should hold impeachment hearings	36%
Believe Clinton obstructed justice	60%
Believe Clinton committed perjury	63%
Have a favorable opinion of Clinton	55%
Have a favorable opinion of Hillary Clinton	62%
Have a favorable opinion of Ken Starr	32%

POLL SOURCES: USA TODAY/ANALYSTICS; CBS NEWS/NOVA; TIME; WASHINGTON POST/ABC NEWS; WALL STREET JOURNAL; GALLUP; RUPAC; FORBES; PUBLIC SIZE; MANAGER TIMES

Hyde's language transgression came to light when *Selow*, a magazine published on the Internet, reported that he had a five-year affair with a married woman named Charna Solomon starting in 1963. The woman's ex-husband called Hyde "the hypocrite who looks up my family." Hyde admitted it was a "youthful infatuation"—although he was 61 when the affair began. *Selow* has savaged Starr and generally deflected Clinton, instead Hyde's friends to claim it was another White House secret. The White House denied involvement, and *Selow* said it got the story from a friend of the woman whose wife he bedded. What's more, its editors wrote, *Charna's* ex-husband started the process by making sexual behavior a public issue. "Isn't it fighting fire with fire, descending to the gutter tactics of those we deplore?" the editors asked. "Finally, yes. But why turn out for ugly tactics?"

Republicans called on the FBI to investigate if White House leaks to the report, but there may not be any link.

Privately, said Norman Ornstein, an expert on Capitol Hill and the White House to make those things come out. Once we started down the slippery slope of looking at sexual behavior, this was bound to happen." Tom Allen, a Democratic congressman from Maine, added in an interview: "All these stories indicate where an investigation of sexual activity will take us. It's dropping down the system." But because Clinton's aides have attacked his critics so strongly in the past, they were vulnerable to accusations that they were dragging the latest dirt. "The White House has such low credibility that Republicans can charge them with dirty tactics, and if they deny it, it doesn't mean a whole lot," said Ornstein.

Although Democrats on Hyde's committee, among the most left-wing in their party, will defend Clinton, many others are distancing themselves from the President. An aide to one Democratic lawmaker told *Monrovia's* that, privately, two dozen of the 206 Democratic congressmen were asking Clinton to resign and to leave the country—and, partly, the agency of impeachment. Yet opinion polls show his job approval rating continues at 60 per cent and above. About two-thirds of Americans

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FROM THE PASSION AND GENIUS OF
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still oppose impeaching him, although most say he should be subjected to the much milder sanction of censure—essentially a public rebuke by Congress. Another idea, make him pay a fine to compensate for the \$67 million that Star spent investigating the Lewinsky affair. Alaska Senator Frank Murkowski, who suggested such a fine, told *Newsweek*: "He lied under oath. There's got to be some penalty for that, or there's no incentive to tell the truth."

At the same time, Clinton is trying to do his job—and be seen doing it. Many issues—such as Saddam Hussein's attempts to annex UN arms inspectors in Iraq—are giving great attention because of the intense focus on the scandal. In New York last week, the President made a major speech on the financial crisis in Asia, and he will soon announce that the United States will join and threaten the United States and other economies. He called it "the biggest financial challenge facing the world in a half-century," and urged efforts to stimulate growth in depressed countries. But although Clinton's words made headlines overseas, they had little impact at home. The speech preceded Prince Maurice Jean Charles to announce that the President's next big job was to get the economy going again. "I think I can live here from his work," Charles said. "There's no question about it."

Danahy, Washington, Clinton is artfully made messages. He is clearly counting heavily on the fact that his poll numbers have come up well in the night months since the Lewinsky scandal broke. The White House then stresses the pumping gap between so-called elite opinion in Washington, which is overwhelmingly against Clinton, and the rest of the country, which surveys show believes his stint as top warrant removal from office.

In Clinton last week, where he went to raise \$750,000 for his party, he said Washington is "obsessed with this notion of America's." But the Clinton's Empire welcomed him to town with a front-page editorial urging him to quit. "If you have any decency, will respect or honor, you will spare us the ordeal of conceiving you be assassinated. Beware."

Elsewhere, many still hope vainly that the Lewinsky story will just go away in Little Rock, Ark., where Clinton craved an governor for 12 years, few are shocked, his extra-curricular sex life was an open secret for years. In the newly established Donor Market District, near the site of the future Clinton presidential library by the Arkansas River, lawyer Greg Fitzgerald paused to reflect on the President's words. "It was a real bad thing for him to do in that position, and that place



He said "I was just reckless behavior. (But) I don't think he should be impeached and removed." Ministerium man Rick Johnson said people should be tolerant. "He hasn't done anything that no other man hasn't. He just got caught," Graduate student Ann Parks agreed. "What came? I'm sick of it. Clinton's private life is not that private. Enough already."

In Annex's Maldives insertion, the Washingtonian's words have again seemed like a gift. It is rare, so friendly. The Starr report, though, grabbed people's attention. At Derry, Deputy's Irish Pub in Manhattan, bartender Linda Bhavenski said bluntly that Clinton should resign or be impeached. "He shouldn't have some fun," she said, "but when he goes on television or before a grand jury and says that's different." Deputy's CEO Pincus agreed—the President must go. "It's a good thing he didn't go into the military," said Pincus. "He'd be out, without his benefits." Others, especially African-Americans, are more understanding. In Harlem, Rev. Bernard Gipson a Baptist minister, said Clinton is a "good man" but not impeachable. I hate it, he said, "but the religion standpoint, but you have to be forgiving." The President can only hope that most Americans, far from the fray in Washington, will continue to feel the same way.

BOB STEPHEN CLUCK in Washington,
JOE PARKER in Little Rock and
BOONE FOLINGOUST in Milwaukee



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Why does Clinton do it?

The politicians, pollsters and pundits have weighed in—endlessly—on Bill Clinton's problems. Now it's time for the psychologists and psychiatrists. The President, they say, has a sexual addiction. Or merely a sexual compulsion. He is secretly insecure, or afflicted with an arrogant arrogance or megalomania. He has low self-esteem—or perhaps believes he is so special that he can get away with anything.

Whatever the diagnosis, the *Monica Lewinsky* saga has put Clinton on the couch in a way no president has been before as the experts try to answer the central mystery: why? why would such a brilliant man with so much to lose do something so stupidly dumb?

Jerome Levin thinks he knows. So do Stanley Ben-El-Mechaieq and Paul Fick. All are mental health professionals who have written books delving into Clinton's troubled inner world. None of them believes primarily that the record of his difficulties with women and telling the truth is so long, so consistent and so public, they say, that solid conclusions can be drawn. The 448 pages of the Starr report, detailing the President's 18-month liaison with Lewinsky, is another wild maze for the analysts—more proof that most people over reacted that Clinton would risk everything for a series of far too sexual encounters later in the White House. "If anyone ever doubted it, there it is," says Levin. "He's had a lifetime problem with sex."

Levin is a psychoanalyst and addiction specialist in New York City whose new book is entitled *The Clinton Syndrome: The President and the Self-Destructive Nature of Sexual Addictions*. Like all those trying to understand Clinton, he goes back to the President's traumatic, turbulent childhood in Arkansas. His father Bill Brydie, and Clinton a mother without feeling to tell her that he had been married several times before, then died in a car crash three months before his son was born. His mother, Virginia, left young Billy with his grandparents when he was a year old, an early memory of abandonment. His stepfather Roger Clinton, was a violent alcoholic who once fired a gun over Virginia's head during an argument and then was headed off to jail—all in four of his six years. His mother divorced Roger, then married his uncle. Bill Clinton's stepfather, Roger, became addicted to cocaine, and was jailed for trafficking in drugs in the 1980s. A tendency towards addiction, says Levin, runs in families—and Bill Clinton is one in a long line.

The proof, he writes, is in the pattern of the President's behavior. A child growing up in a home wrecked by violence and addiction learns instinctively to be self-protective. He denies his feelings and

denies reality in order to survive. Once he had made it to the White House, Clinton told an interviewer that "overall, I was pretty happy. I did. I had a normal childhood." The truth, says Levin, is that the President was deeply scarred, no matter how great his achievements, and used sex to try to heal himself. "Sexual addiction," he writes, "is not about sex. The sexual addict is seeking reassurance and a sense of self-esteem."

Pick, a California psychologist, is the author of *The Dysfunctional President: Understanding the Compulsions of President Bill Clinton*. He wrote the book in 1996 and rushed out a fresh edition when the Lewinsky scandal erupted. Like many analysts, Pick is skeptical that such a thing as "sex addiction" exists. Instead, he calls Clinton a man "with a serious sexual control issue"—a claim made eminently plausible by Lewinsky's assertion in the Starr report that the President told her he had "tan dresses" in his office after he married Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is both a psychoanalyst and a professor of political science at the City University of New York, coaches the President's character, as his newly minted book *High Hope: The Clinton Presidency and the Politics of Authenticity* instead of concluding that Clinton uses sex to overcome feelings of inadequacy, he diagnoses him as "a man who doesn't like boundaries."

Pickman says the President "doesn't think he should be held to the rules that govern ordinary people. He's smart, he's personable and he's able, and all that has reinforced his sense that it's all right for him to do what he wants because after all, he's not on quite the same level. Until now that is."

But what to do? If Clinton has a deep-seated personal problem to go along with his political one, can he come to grips with a whole ranging the United States and lightning to keep his job? A few well-meaning observers, such as Levin, suggest that Clinton violate the 25th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which would allow him to turn over his job to Vice-President Al Gore for a few weeks and begin "takeover counseling." Says Levin, "He'd be a tremendous model for how people should deal with their addiction." That is one opinion Clinton is surely not considering. Even the most modest step of seeking therapy while in office is difficult. The President plans to get regular spiritual counseling from three ministers. But the White House vigorously denies that he is under treatment for any psychological or mental condition. Americans, it seems, may put up with a deeply troubled man in the White House. But they aren't yet ready for one who seeks professional help to battle his demons.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Washington

Defiling sacred premises

To many Americans, it wasn't just what he did, but where

BY DAVID SHIRKMAN

Maybe it comes from the portrait of George Washington over the fireplace (just the stern broader gormogoned on the dollar bill, but a benignly smiling, infinitely figure). Or from the spare personal touches of the powerful in letter openers for a man whose entry suite is attended by security guards, a signpost of the barely remembered words: "We are under the same roof." Or from the great desk itself (where, if you look carefully, you can see the impressions of the President's predecessors—scotch marks on the writing surface, and on history).

The Oval Office has an aura, an ooze to match the elected office itself. Bill Clinton knows that, has felt it himself. The room is a source of inspiration and, he told a group of reporters at a wedding convention last year, a source of "psychological reassurance." In that room, the demands are rendered deflated, the powerful speech is whithered in emptiness in that room. Ronald Reagan almost never took office in the Oval Office, he said, just to sit, not even while sitting at his desk, for fear that he might insult the ghosts of the great. The past is always present in the White House, even for presidents who sit in that office and contemplate the future.

Americans, impatient with British monarchs, created a royalty of their own. These same Americans, instead of separating church and state, went ahead and created a secular religion. And that is why the Washington set was worried so deeply the President—part king, part pastor—was married, and he was done so in the most sacred temple of the realm.

For the world, the contents of the Starr report are uninteresting, maybe even—in a sophisticated, slapstick way—amusing. But for the American political establishment and for a chunk of the American public, what the President did with Monica Lewinsky in an office where Abraham Lincoln struggled to save the Union where Theodore Roosevelt captured an great national power for a country that barely held a nerve, where President Roosevelt in 1941 sped the nation first to have the kids to save capitalism and then to join the crusade to save democracy, was nothing short of unbearable. The Prime Minister's Office in Ottawa is hardly a Canadian cultural icon, the current location is not even the same as an earlier prime minister has used. But the Oval Office is more than a grand office. It is a symbol, and so is the person who sits there.

David Shirkman, Washington bureau chief of *The Boston Globe*, won the 1995 Pulitzer Prize for his writing on American political culture.

The American political scientist Clinton Rossiter once described the president as "the one man distillation of the American people." Herbert Hoover, an apostle of centralized authority, recognized that the presidency was "the towering symbol of all that is highest in American purpose and ideals." Every phrase in the United States seems bigger than it is in reality—the statue, the parades, the national symbols, the national religion—and so it should be no surprise that the precepts and permission of its leaders are also outsized. That is what attracted the young Bill Clinton to the presidency in the first place. That is why the older but maybe no wiser Bill Clinton is in such a woe today.

Most of the President's critics with Lewinsky scoured the hallway outside the Oval Office or in the study adjacent to it. "I see that office as a totally private place," the President said of the study in that convention a year ago. He has his stereo there, and his golf pants and his collection of political puns. "And sometimes I go in there when I'm tired and I take an hour and I sit in my rocking chair and read and listen to music." All that, as the interview book lists to say, and more. And when the size was diminished Clinton and Lewinsky would make their way out of the study and, the same letters testified to the Starr grand jury, "we'd usually end up kind of the pillow talk at a 1, guess sitting in the Oval Office."

And he's wound up what they did, but where. And when the Lewinsky scandal came at a moment when history, at a time when the presidency seemed to decline anyway. The War Powers Act of 25 years ago stripped the chief executive of some of his discretion in war making; the explosion in cable television made it harder for the president to dominate the airwaves the way John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson did; the growing budget deficit and changing political tastes made it harder for presidents to propose the kind of big vision, big-sounding programs that made the presidency larger than life, or appear that way. Clinton himself produced such big-word proposals (big school uniforms, for example) that he seemed to be 50% big word more than just suggestions, rather than grand legislative blueprints.

Then, a White House intern dashed a key aide and her thing underwear, and everything started to crumble—the President, the presidency, Americans' notion of their highest office. Clinton is guilty of infidelity to his wife, but he's being punished for a different crime altogether: his infidelity to America's most cherished office and, with it, America's most cherished myth. ☐

Theories abound on the roots of his relations with women



AN ADDICTION: Women who claim or admit encounters with Clinton (clockwise from above)—Monica Lewinsky; Sam Donnelly; Paula Jones; Elizabeth West Green; and Kathleen Willey



ROOM WITH AN AURA
The Oval Office is a symbol—and so is the person who sits there

Kohl's big test

Twice every month, with German precision, Lothar Diewert rises early to spend his entire day wandering the grim corridors of a notorious old building in the heart of Merseburg. Flashflooded, soot-flecked and crumbling mortar, the place was once widely known—and widely dreaded—by the 40,000 inhabitants of the gritty industrial town on the banks of the Saale river in eastern Germany, 150 km south-west of Berlin. For not long ago, before Berlin's Wall tumbled, it housed the regional headquarters of the Stasi, East Germany's secret police. Now, it is the Merseburg district's unemployment office. And Diewert has come to know it well because he is one of the casualties of Germany's otherwise vaunted reunification. When the Wall fell on Nov. 9, 1989, Diewert's life came crashing down with it. "It has been a disaster for me," says the 50-year-old metallurgical engineer as he sits disconsolately in the still-forded building. "I lost everything: my job, my wife, my son, my future. I wish it had never happened."

The sentiment is shared by more than a few of Diewert's compatriots in what used to be known as the German Democratic Republic. Like him, they have been sorely disappointed by what has happened since the collapse: even that Germans on both sides of the political divide refer to simply as the "Wende"—the "Turn." Like Diewert, they see with a barely concealed outrage that the union of the two Germanys has produced neither the prosperity nor the "flowering landscape" promised by Chancellor Helmut Kohl when he boldly, some say confidently, engineered it after the downfall of Erich Honecker's Communist regime in the East. And if the pundits and the politicians are correct, and unemployment rises to the 13.5 million forecast, then Germany will play a critical role in determining the political future of the entire 80-million-strong country in elections set for Sunday. "The outcome will be decided in the east," says political scientist Peter Lasche of the University of Göttingen. "The voters there now have it in their power to pick who's going to run this country for the next four years and, in the process, become the single most powerful politician in Europe." The winner will also lead the world's third-largest economy, making him a key global player as financial turmoil hovers over personal markets and the potent—and agonized—new currency debate surfaces across 11 European nations, anchored by Germany.

On the day at least the choice facing voters on Sept. 27 could not be more stark. On one side sits the 68-year-old Kohl, a plodding, albeit towering, figure who presides over the longest-running generation of a former Western power. He has been German chancellor for the last 16 years, chairman of the eight-party Christian Democratic Union party for the last 35. Countering him as the candidate of the Social Democratic Party, or SPD, is Ger-

Germany's long-ruling leader fights an election that is too close to call



hard Schröder, 56, prime minister since 1990 of the state of Lower Saxony as western Germany's Socialist brother and arch-rival. Schröder is a moderate leftist often compared to British Prime Minister Tony Blair because of his pragmatic politics and to U.S. President Bill Clinton for less starchy manner involving women. Schröder has been married four times, the last union occurring after an attachment broken with a journalist 15 years his junior and a messy divorce that saw his third wife throw him out of the family home in Hannover and then publish a widely read book about the affair.

That Schröder not only survived the highly public scandal but, two years later, holds a marginal lead in the polls over his rival promises a measure of the difference between elections in North America and in the European continent. The summer-long German campaign has featured little of the glitz and media frenzy that accompanies similar elections in the Anglo-Saxon world, particularly the United States. Schröder's campaign comes dressed in flat style, the result perhaps of the quiet subtext his strategists have selected from Blair's Labour party machine and Clinton's Democrats. But even Schröder's appearances are more often tightly scripted, routinely conducted

BARRY CAHILL
IN BERLIN



Kohl campaigns in eastern Germany. Schröder left, the incumbent and who stands the outcome

set up on the back of the ever-rising floor. The crowd, hindered by the rain and a local transit strike, is sparse, no more than two or three hundred. They cluster around the bus-sized booths or stand under umbrellas on the slick grass in front of a large stage, where an oomph-pah band is belting out German folk tunes under a blue sky. Schröder, dressed in the Social Democrats' slogan, "Wir sind bereit"—We are prepared. On the whole, the assembled voters do not seem overly excited by what they are about to witness. "I'm just here to listen," shares Marco Hübner, 28, an army conscript on leave from his unit who will cast his first vote on Sunday. "But I'll tell you this," he adds, sipping beer from a plastic cup, "none of our politicians impress me very much."

Schröder—suspicious in tailored blue, a broad smile on his face, hair the color of mescaline—arrives precisely on time. He waves to some glad-handing or mingles with the crowd but proceeds directly to the stage. After dithering among a lone becker pointing the shadow of a local steel plant, the SPD's standard-bearer smoothly delivers his pitch: It's heavy on social-democratic broadness. "I say to you," he declares, "that I will never allow the question of higher education to depend on money and paper's value." There is a reference to Germany's 4.5 million unemployed, 30.6 per cent of the workforce, and another to the Kohl government's program to cut pensions. "The government will not," he finishes. "It's time for a change." And then he is gone, as quickly as he arrived.

In his wake, Schröder leaves at least a few startled voters. "A good speech," says a church organist Bernd Erdmann, 41, who suggests that he might even be tempted to switch his allegiance from Kohl's CDU, which got his vote in 1994. "Well, I will certainly vote for him," interjects with Elke, 38, with some heat. "Kohl's been around for too long as it is."

A few days later, the subject of Frau Erdmann's reaction is in west Berlin, peddling his own message in an effort crowd assembled not far from the trendy clubs and expensive shops that line the Kantstraße avenue, the broad, tree-lined avenue that has

become one of the symbols of modern German prosperity. There is another oomph-pah band pounding out another German folk tune but there is no bus-sized booth or beer for sale at Wittebergplatz where Kohl speaks. The chancellor, rumpled as ever, looks a little tired. But he manages to speak for a full hour in his trademark flat monotone, completely devoid of drama. He tells the assembled voters what he has been telling the German electorate since the campaign he ran, warning them that now is not the time for "experiments," that "stability above all" is required as Germany "moves into the new century." He does not have to explain to his listeners the meaning of his remarks. His mere presence does that for him—monotone, solid, dependable.

Kohl's message may lack inspiration but, against all odds, it has been having some impact. Over the course of the campaign, the chancellor has managed to cut Schröder's approval rating 10-point lead in the polls to just two points late last week, a margin so narrow that Germany's politicians were refusing to predict the outcome. On Sept. 13, Kohl's campaign received another boost in state elections in Bavaria, where the southern state's ruling Christian Social Union—junior partners in the chancellor's governing coalition in Bonn—managed to hold on to its majority with a virtually unchanged 52.9 per cent of the vote. In contrast, the SPD vote in Bavaria fell from 30 per cent in 1994 to 28.7 per cent. The eastern-savvy Greens, the likeliest allies in a future SPD coalition, also dropped, from 6.1 per cent to 5.7 per cent. "A victory," Kohl boasted in the wake of the Bavarian vote, "with clear implications for the federal political scene."

Schröder was quick to dismiss the Bavarian trends, claiming the results were "what I expected, not what I had hoped for." Still, the SPD candidate had expended considerable energy in Bavaria, vetting the state more than 30 times in the hope that he could turn the state vote into a launchpad for the national election. The effort came to naught, but it did direct Germany's attention back towards the east, towards

WORLD

the five Länder—or states—that make up the old German Democratic Republic.

Now less than 30 per cent of Germany's 80.5 million voters reside in the east. Many of them are now living a phantasmic life to that contrasting jobless engineer Diewitz. "The unemployment rate in the five east German states is double that of the west. The Merseburg area, where Diewitz lives, has the highest jobless rate in the country, close to 21 per cent. Out of a total population of 380,000 in the region, 30,000 are out of work. There are, in

addition, 11,000 people engaged in temporary government-sponsored jobs, and another 5,000 enrolled in government-funded retraining schemes. "It's a devastating number," says Hans Giese, director of Merseburg's unemployment office, "particularly when you consider that, under the old Communist regime, virtually everybody had a job here."

Merseburg's unemployed are victims of the painful industrial restructuring that has followed upon the heels of German reunification. The area, in fact, is a microcosm of

events in the east since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Under the old regime, the region was the site of a vast petrochemical complex. The refineries at nearby Leuna used to employ 32,000 people. The Buna rubber products facility in the same area once had a workforce of 30,000. Now, the French petrochemical conglomerate Elf Aquitaine runs the Leuna refineries, employing only 2,000. Michael, Moll, based at El Chemiel has taken over the Buna operation, turning the steel to 2,000. "The petrochemical industry here simply died," says economist Hans-Joachim Schneider of the locally based Halle Institute for Economic Research. "The old facilities were too inefficient and too hugely overvalued to compete in a Western economy. Fifty thousand jobs were lost in the process."

Along with the disappearing jobs have come losses of another, more dangerous kind. "People here are feeling defeated, devalued, robbed of their self-esteem," says Hans-Joachim Moll, a psychotherapist in Halle, 20 km north of Merseburg. He points out that the majority of patients he treats at his church-financed clinic are still suffering the same malaises as those he treated under the old regime—depression, panic attacks, psychosomatic problems. "But the triggers are different now," he adds. "Before, the symptoms were produced by a need for freedom and space. Now they are the result of a profound sense of helplessness."

There has, as well, been political defeat with dangerous implications. The threat comes from both extremes of the spectrum. Last May, the right-wing German Peoples Union won a dramatic 25 per cent of the vote in state elections in Saxony-Anhalt, where Merseburg is located. The upsurge was attributed to the party's demand for a return to the old German constitution, and led by its charismatic publisher Gerhard Frey, did it with an aggressive campaign based on such slogans as "German jobs for Germans" and "Foreign benefits out."

At the same time, there has been a resurgence in support in the east for the Party of Democratic Socialism, continuing almost directly of voting cadres from the previous ruling Communist party. The PDS won 30 seats in the 695-seat Bundestag in the last federal election in 1994, thanks largely to Germany's complex voting system, a combination of proportional representation and the traditional first-past-the-post race used in Canada. Each German voter has two ballots, one for a local candidate and the other for a regional party list. "There's a huge protest vote in the east waiting to happen," says University of Göttingen political scientist Lischke. "If it swings to the right or what is more likely, to the left, then both of the mainstream parties are going to have to deal with it." And that is true for whoever manages to win the German chancellery's office on Sunday, both the old warrior, Helmut Kohl, and the new face on the scene, Gerhard Schröder.

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World NOTES

ALBANIA IN TURMOIL

Albanian lawmakers voted to strip opposition leader Bujar Berisha of his parliamentary immunity so he could be prosecuted for inciting anti-government riots that killed seven people and injured 70 last week. Berisha denied he plotted a coup against elected Prime Minister Fatos Nano. Western powers were backing Nano, fearing that the instability could spill into neighboring Kosovo, where the Albanian majority is caught in a war with Serb forces.

A BASQUE CEASEFIRE?

After 30 years of guerrilla activity, the Basque separatist group ETA declared a "total and indefinite ceasefire," apparently inspired by the Irish Republican Army. While many in Spain's northern Basque region reacted with optimism, Madrid's interior minister called it a "false truce."

BRAWL IN MALAYSIA

Canadian field hockey players harassed a Scottish umpire after losing a qualifying match to Malaysia in the Commonwealth Games in Kuala Lumpur. Canadian goalie Mike McDonald also berated a Malaysian team player who had knelt on the field to pray. The angry Canadians believed the umpire raised a call and cost them the game. Canada had won 65 medals at the Games by late last week.

FERRARO BOWS OUT

The only woman ever to run for vice-president of the United States declined the end of her political career after losing a Senate primary race in New York state. Geraldine Ferraro raised hopes for female politicians when she ran in the 1984 Democratic ticket with Walter Mondale. The pair lost to Ronald Reagan and George Bush. Ferraro subsequently lost a Senate race in 1992.

A ROYAL LEGAL BILL

Former British prime minister John Major ran up a \$1-million legal bill with a London firm while acting as financial guardian for Prince William, 16, and Prince Harry, 14, after the death of their mother a year ago. Prince Charles said he was pleased with Major's work, which involved protecting the boys' share of the Diana, Princess of Wales, memorabilia industry and an unsuccessful attempt to avoid death duties on the \$35 million they will inherit. David's estate will pay his legal fees.

Raging waters

Hundreds of thousands of people in opposite ends of the globe faced death and devastation as both Mexico and Bangladesh suffered the most horrific flooding in decades. The death toll in Bangladesh passed 1,000 before the country gained some relief late last week. In two months of monsoon rains that left three-quarters of the country submerged, 84 in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas—the country's poorest—the floods were just beginning.

Rice trapped in rice, following hard on a drought, covered one-third of the state in water. By week's end, more than 600 people were declared dead and more than 950 missing. More than 450,000 were left homeless. Relief men dropped many helicopters and boats from reaching gas estimated 30,000 people stranded without food.

Some starving villagers ate rotting animal carcasses in order to survive. Remote hamlets were completely isolated and sludge, their inhabitants resorted to the rats. "We have nothing to eat, we have to live," said farmer Juan Figueroa, 38, as he was airlifted from the hard-hit town of Mupantegic. Among survivors there have been outbreaks of cholera and conjunctivitis.

Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo made four trips to Chiapas, which his opponents said were motivated by political expediency in a election where voters have been punishing government troops since 1994. Mexico's 5-senator ministry said the government would postpone nonurgent programs to free up money for the emergency: the country's worst dis-



Chiapas village
sawing drinking
water in
Bangladesh
(right)
devastation



aster since the 1985 Mexico City earthquake.

In Bangladesh, many of the victims died from a diarrhea epidemic caused by rotten food and dirty water. As the floods slowly started to recede, government officials said quick shipments of international food aid quick relief of mass starvation. Despite only \$20 million of the \$1.3 billion Bangladesh requested had yet been pledged, Ottawa will provide when asked at \$2.5 million and \$675,000 for medical supplies and home repairs.

Iran's show of force

A war of nerves in the Iran-Afghanistan border was escalating as Tehran's fundamentalist regime traded inflammatory rhetoric with Kabul's archconservative Taliban movement. In recent weeks, Iran, dominated by Shia Muslims, has accused up to 40,000 (disputed) Shi'ite Muslims of fleeing to Afghanistan since estimated within the Taliban—a Sunni Muslim offshoot—admitted killing

eight Iranian diplomats and an Iranian journalist on Aug. 10. Last week, the Taliban, which controls 90 per cent of Afghanistan, accused Iran of killing 56 Afghan refugees, in turn, has said the Taliban murdered Afghan Shi'ite. Tehran threatened to launch air strikes, and the Taliban promised to respond with Soviet missiles. Washington, which is in a delicate position to balance with which to strike the land in an eight-country imbroglio to defuse the crisis.

Rules of the Game



MacKay puts the consumer first

BY JOHN GEDDES

When the federal task force on the future of financial institutions released its annually awaited report last week, there was no special delivery to the top floors of Bay Street's bank towers.

The banks' representatives had to stand in line at the task force's temporary Toronto offices early Tuesday morning—like clients at the teller counter in one of their branches—to claim their copies. The rule was two documents per customer: a restriction that forced the Bank of Montreal to tear its copies apart into chapters so the right people could



read them. The task force is careful to cater to the bankers who, after all, had perhaps the most at stake in the report, one typical of its approach. Its chairman, Reginald lawyer Harold MacKay, says he could not afford to be distracted by the particular needs of the banks.

"We tried to look at our assignment entirely through a filter of what will benefit Canadian consumers," he told *Maclean's*.

If MacKay succeeds in turning attention towards the consumer perspective, his report will have radically altered the course of the debate over bank mergers. Up to now, the uproar sparked by the proposed mergers of Royal Bank of Canada with Bank of Montreal, and Toronto Dominion Bank with Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce has been a mainly about vested interests. The banks know their need to combine forces to withstand new foreign competition. The Bank of Nova Scotia, the only big bank without a major partner, attacks the desire for centralizing banking down its rivets banks. Life insurance companies de-

terior bank owners. MacKay at an Ottawa news conference (below) making it easier to take on the megabanks

mand greater powers to vie with the banks—even if Ottawa decides to block the mergers. Federal politicians are deluged by well-funded lobbying campaigns from all camps. Further, the politicians cannot the pressure to tailor their decisions to suit one industry faction or another will be put to the test.

MacKay's report offers them a framework for holding consumer concerns above company squabbling. While MacKay recommends that Ottawa drop its unwritten policy of banning mergers between big banks, that key proposal is packaged with a rub of offering ideas designed to bolster alternatives to the banks. For example, MacKay calls for life insurance companies, mutual funds and investment dealers to be allowed access to the payments system, the network that allows banks to cash each other's cheques. Opening up the system could eventually allow a consumer to use, say, an automatic bank machine to make a withdrawal from a money-market mutual fund. As well, MacKay calls for more flexible federal rules on the ownership of similar banks, both to encourage new banks to start up and to encourage ones large strategic alliances with other companies. "All those changes on the structural side are not driven by trying to find ways to help institutions," he said. "It's to provide better service to consumers."

No matter how many of his specific recommendations are accepted, MacKay uses a separate chapter to review all of the issues behind the mergers. Finance Minister Paul Martin, who has the power to approve or reject the mergers, has already embraced that proposal. But first, the mergers must survive an investigation by the competition bureau, Ottawa's antitrust watchdog. The bureau saw about 100 comments containing the details to disprove if they would give the new megabanks too much power: to raise the prices they charge for financial services. Its findings, likely to be delivered to Martin in December, will mark the most burning point in the merger saga.

The bureau's director, Kenneth von Feltz, cautions, told *Maclean's* he expects MacKay's study to have a major influence on his findings, especially in assessing the competitive impact of new technology. "The best view we have of some of the market developments, some of the pressures in the MacKay task force," he said. But that does not mean von Feltz is bound to echo MacKay's call for allowing mergers. Unlike MacKay, von Feltz's analysis must apply strict rules. If either of the two merged banks would command more than 35 per cent of a certain local market for a financial service, such as credit cards in one city or home mortgages in another, the bureau's guidelines assume that competition might be seriously threatened. It would also consider a situation in which any four banks have more than 65 per cent of a particular market to be too much concentration.

Those key thresholds underlie an angry debate brewing between Bank of Nova Scotia and the four merging banks. In a recent speech, ScotiaBank chairman Peter Godwin said the two banks created by the mergers would control 66 per cent of Canada's domestic banking assets—too much to ensure

consumers have real choice. But Royal Bank chief economist John McCollum shot back last week that Godwin's statistic is irrelevant. The figures that matter, McCollum contends, are market shares that take into account all competitors, including foreign banks and leasing companies. By that measure, the four merging banks together command just 43 per cent of Canada's residential mortgage market and 36 per cent of small business loans, he said. In the end, when playing on a key fear that the mergers would raise job losses, Warren Littleton, chief economist of Scotiabank, said 24,000 jobs in Toronto alone could be lost.

Blasphemy of such statistics are in the fierce fight for the fall and winter as combatants in the battle shift to persuading politicians what's best for consumers. This week, the House finance committee and the Senate banking committee launch hearings into the MacKay report. "MacKay's recommendations are so far beyond level," one adviser to Martin told *Maclean's*. "It's a political scrub." There will be plenty of that, it seems, with Martin's ultimate verdict unlikely to come until November 1999. Consumer interests are an inevitably at stake, but whether consumers will stay interested through such a long and complex process is another matter. □

TOUGH GUY, TOUGH TASK

Few Canadians have heard of Kenneth von Feltz, but he is no stranger to public controversy. As the chief lawyer in the federal government's trade office during the negotiations leading to the 1988 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, he was at the epicentre of one of the most ferocious political debates in Canadian history. Now, as head of the federal competition bureau—which must decide if the proposed bank mergers threaten to put too much power in the hands of too few—the new megabanks—von Feltz, 53, again finds himself doing delicate policy work in a most unsettled political atmosphere.

He is not the sort of bureaucrat to be intimidated by political barbed. Gordon Ritchie, the second-highest-ranking Canadian negotiator in the 1970s, lauded him in his 1997 book on the making of the trade pact, *Winning With The Elephant*, as "a tower of strength throughout the FTA saga."

One lesson von Feltz has learned from that experience: what looks innocuous to experts often can be portrayed as alarming to the public. "I realize from having seen it firsthand how these issues can become political, how the press can become a very important part in the whole decision-making process," he told *Maclean's* last week. "One has to be very careful so that everything that is done cannot be used

by opponents in a negative way."

The bureau's job is to analyze the mergers according to strict rules—any one company controlling 35 per cent or more of a market sets off alarm bells. But von Feltz estimates that his report will amount to more than dry calculations of market share. "It is no good to use legalese and economic jargon," he said. "We want people to understand what we are doing and why we are doing it."

Still, von Feltz is not expected to seek the public spotlight. "Kenneth is not particularly open with people," said one former senior bureaucrat who has worked closely with him. "He's mostly known for his rigour, his discretion."

Von Feltz himself said he expects to deliver his report to Finance Minister Paul Martin in December—later than his original November target. "The minister will make it public, and he will personally announce his concerns," he said. "Then, the parties can decide—always assuming we have concerns and the minister has concerns—do they want to address them or do they want to walk?" If the banks decide to walk, the story ends. If they decide to try to come to terms, they face a dual process: 1999—settling the political and CPMR to turn to Kenneth von Feltz.



Von Feltz must expose shy numbers



Toronto store
Gilly Fraser, cut
with tradition

BUSINESS

Fashioning a gamble to survive

Eaton's bets the company on teens and fancy brand names

BY KIMBERLEY NOBLE

One late-summer lunch hour, Louise Rich ambled into Eaton's flagship store in downtown Toronto, looking over each of the customers that Eaton's managers are so anxious to see strolling the aisles of their newly reborn stores. An avid shopper with an eye for fashion and a good job as a public information officer with the Ontario government, she had exactly 45 minutes and a number of things to buy: Rich wanted summer house-hold items (including a pretty pair of oven mitts for a gift), a blouse and a blender. Nothing fancy, just some of the basic, reliable merchandise that Canadian women have been buying at Eaton's for as long as they and their mothers can remember.

Rich, however, did not have much luck. The housewares department where she had shopped for years had been relocated. In its place was a special clearance aisle jammed with jumbled racks of summer clothes. She found the new department on floors above where it used to be, but ended up leaving the mall irritated and angry headed, unsatisfied by what management has dubbed "The new Eaton's." Her as-

sumption? "I still can't find anything I want. And Lord knows, I'm a shopper. It feels like thousands of square feet of nothing to buy."

There, in a nutshell, is Eaton's shoddy strength—and its potentially catastrophic challenge. For all it has been through it is still the store that stands as Canada's link to what it construes to be the top of the corporate world: in the spring of 1997 because it shop the company went bankrupt; at least not at present customers were willing to pay in its effort to run Eaton's around, president and CEO George Kosch has chosen what looks like a risky strategy: dumping or downsizing the selection of many products that customers associate with Eaton's—including appliances and furniture—and replacing them with brand-name clothing.

The company, which emerged from bankruptcy protection late in 1997, has closed 21 of its 85 stores, and still about 2000 workers and shed \$215 million in new equity to outside investors—a move that cut the Eaton family half its ownership stake. Management sees the summer throwing great chunks of new stock at higher store ceilings, softer lighting and, above all, glamorous new brand-name merchandise: main dressing from Ralph Lauren and Tommy Hilfery, bags and shoes from Kenneth Cole, crockery displays reminiscent of Boston's Cendrille.

But as the construction dust clears, shoppers and shareholders alike are asking the same old question. In an era of category killers, downsizing layoffs and on-line shopping, is Eaton's any closer to

providing customers with the products they want, at prices they are willing to pay?

So far, only Eaton's management and a handful of high-fashion suppliers seem certain the company is on the right track. "We have divided the amount of business we are doing with Eaton's," says Latham manufacturer Peter Nygard, who cannot say enough in praise of the turnaround. "Our merchandise is finally flying out of the stores." But others—loan foreclosures to industry consultants to investors—remain unconvinced. "It is truly puzzled by their strategy," says Toronto retail consultant John Williams. "They want to cut their staples with more turnover. But how are they going to do that by going upscale? In Canada, there are not enough people affluent."

Many wholesalers are intervening judgment until they see evidence of a turnaround. "The feeling among people like myself is that so far, nobody's done anything to make us comfortable," observed the head of a large leather goods supplier whose company took a costly equity haircut under the dead Eaton's ended up negotiating with its trade creditors. The stock market also has its doubts. Eaton's common shares, priced at \$5.25 last June, have dropped to \$7.30 since management announced on Sept. 11, but it was cutting its profit forecast to \$28 million this year, down from \$38 million.

Regardless of what the skeptics say, Kosch is adamant the company is on the right track. And he may be correct. The man is a retail veteran, with 38 years' experience in the department store business, a fact that he often brings up in conversation. Asked in 1997 what lessons he might have learned after almost four decades at Hudson's Bay Co. (from which he retired the day before he was hired to run Eaton's), Kosch once snapped, "I basically taught the lessons in the Hudson's Bay Co."

These days, Kosch has tempered his approach. The obstinate competitiveness is gone. So is the belief that to make money, department stores must slash costs and prices. For Kosch, Eaton's survival depends being able to distinguish itself from rival chains like Sears and the Bay. Current business models say that aging them, as it has been Eaton's for far more time, so happened to Eaton's Kosch is not



CEO Kosch admits he's right

THE MARKET'S VIEW



looking for the future. "They have to prove a large assortment of moderately priced merchandise is order to do the volume they need to be doing." If all else fails, he says, as most retailers can see, this puts the company more or less back where it started 18 months ago—faced with better looking stores and a stronger balance sheet. This coincided with the fact that the U.S. retailing giant who rejected buying Eaton's when it was bankrupt are still looking for ways to expand into Canada, even the question of whether Eaton's strategy is a handy asset at putting the stores themselves on display. At the very least, it would provide Timothy Eaton's descendants with something they could certainly sell. □

A NEW WAY TO GO SHOPPING

Eaton's is not only not to become a category killer in brand-name fashion. The venerable Canadian retailer, which became famous for its now-abandoned catalogue, is meeting another source of competition head-on. Last week, the company launched a new Internet shopping service, *shop4eats.com*. The selection includes a range of personal and household products, all of which will be delivered anywhere in Canada for a flat price of \$4.50.

The idea is to start with products that Eaton's knows people want to buy on the Web, and expand over time in keeping with

customer demand. Says Christopher McKenzie, the company's manager of Internet business development, "We wanted to create something that's a lot slicker and fun to use, and at the same time help us find out what else the on-line customer wants."

The possibilities are endless. Forster Research, a Massachusetts-based company that tracks U.S. trends, says \$7.3 billion worth of goods will be bought on-line this year, double last year's level. By 1999, sales are forecast to jump by another 65 per cent. So far, Internet shoppers seem most interested in buying cosmetics and software products—in three of the current market—followed by travel services and entertainment products. The on-line market for books and music products comes next, and is growing rapidly led by U.S. Internet stores such as Amazon.com. "You're looking at a

lot of money," McKenzie says. "In Canada right now, we have a huge opportunity."

He blames cautious retailers for the fact that Canadians just still look to U.S. companies—and pay outrageous exchange rates, plus shipping and customs charges—to shop on-line. But his points to Eaton's, as well as bookstore giant Chapters Inc., as proof that Canadians are catching up. Chapters' Canada store is due to be up and running next month, in partnership with The Globe and Mail newspaper.

For companies, McKenzie says, the big advantage of on-line retail is its flexibility and the traditional chains at brick and mortar. "The great thing about the Web is that if it turns out we have something customers don't like, give us 24 hours and we can change it."

K.N.

AN EXHIBITION LIKE THIS IS CERTAINLY WORTH A GANDER.



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Business NOTES

The plague spreads to Brazil

The financial plague sweeping economies from Asia to Russia has spread to Latin America's largest country, Brazil. Saddled with massive debt and a spiralling budget deficit, Brazil is wallowing in the worst economic crisis in almost a decade. Stocks on the São Paulo exchange have lost nearly half their value in the last month. As confidence wanes in the government's ability to support the Brazilian currency—the real—\$20 billion in hard currency has left the country in the last month. That slowed recently only when Brazil boosted

interest rates to 40 per cent. The International Monetary Fund has begun talks with Brazil about a rescue package that could amount to \$30 billion. With its coffers depleted by the rapidly expanding global economic crisis, the IMF will rely on funding from the United States, Canada and other industrialized nations. Billionaire hedge fund manager George Soros warned that a bailout won't work. "You have an acute crisis being very," he told the House of Representatives Banking Committee. "There is general panic in Latin America."

LOWER MORTGAGES

For the second straight week, Citicredit's megabanks cut mortgage rates to relieve the lender's gross rate and the lower cost of financing in the local market. A one-year closed mortgage dropped a quarter point to 7.5 per cent, while the five-year rate slipped to 7.3 per cent.

DRABINSKY FIGHTS BACK

Guth Ordinsky, the ousted co-founder of Loral Inc., took legal action to stop a probe by accounting firm KPMG into alleged financial irregularities at the Toronto-based telecom company. Ordinsky, suspended in August over the allegations, claims that conflicts of interest make KPMG incapable of conducting an impartial review.

CABLE DIVERGENCE

Shaw Communications Inc. of Calgary said it will split into two independent, publicly traded companies as what analysts called a bid to appease federal regulators. Shaw Communications will focus on cable TV, while the other yet-to-be-named firm will look after radio and specialty TV operations. Regulators have objected to large cable companies owning specialty channels.

A BANK BLUNDER

Bank of Montreal said it posted \$40 million in trading losses in the quarter starting Aug. 1 because of volatile stock markets. The bank said it hopes to recoup the money before the end of the quarter.

ELEVATORS GOING DOWN

The Saskatchewan Wheat Pool said it will shed more than half its grain elevators by 2000. The move affects 225 elevators in 170 communities and will close about 145 workers jobs. The closures will coincide with the opening of new facilities for grain handling that are expected to lower delivery costs for farmers.

NORTEL SLASHES JOBS

Northern Telecom Ltd. said it will cut 5,500 jobs in a bid to focus on Internet technologies. The company employs about 30,000 employees worldwide.

A PRIZE IN PERU

Rio Algom Ltd., Noranda Inc. and Teck Corp. signed a contract to start development of the \$3-billion Antamina copper-cobalt project in Peru.



SMALL WONDER:

Shinji Nakai, a computer designer with IBM Japan, demonstrates what Big Blue calls as the world's smallest Pentium computer using Windows 95 or 95. Unveiled at a high-tech fair near Tokyo, the Wearable PC operates using voice commands and a headset equipped with an earphone and a tiny video display. It weighs nearly 300 g, including battery pack.

Funds take a beating

A bear market is giving pause to Canadians who had grown accustomed to investing over larger amounts of money in mutual funds. Fund sales in August were at their lowest level in almost three years, with investors making purchases of only \$800 million, down 75 per cent from the \$3.2 billion invested in August.

1997. That left total fund assets last month at \$286.2 billion, down 13.6 per cent from the previous month. Meanwhile, a recent survey by the Canada Deposit Insurance Corp. suggests many people mistakenly think their fund investments are insured against market declines. Almost half of the 1,159 respondents in August questioned are wrongly believed that mutual funds are covered by deposit insurance.

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

Alan Greenspan, chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board, sent global stock markets tumbling when he said industrialized nations have no plans to cushion the world's weakening financial community co-ordinating an across-the-board cut in interest rates. While Greenspan did not rule out orchestrated action, the Toronto Stock Exchange 300 composite index lost as much as 2.8 per cent of its value, the steepest slide among the G-7 industrialized nations. The Canadian dollar was also hit, dropping almost three-quarters of a cent before recovering Friday to close the week at 66 cents (U.S.).

annual inflation rate in August fell to 0.8 per cent from 0.9 per cent in July.

"Manufacturing shipments are expected to rebound following the end of the Q4 strike. Nonetheless, the manufacturing sector is expected to grow at a much slower pace in the second half of 1998 than the first."

—TD Bank

CANADA'S TRADE SURPLUS

Merchandise trade balance



"Slower growth should largely offset the impact of the lower dollar, holding inflation in the one-per-cent range in the months ahead."

—Nesbitt Burns



Peter C. Newman

A banking report to please the bankers

There he was, last Wednesday, sitting in an economy seat on Canadian Airlines' Toronto to Montreal shuttle, reading the Mackay report, formally known as the Task Force on the Future of the Canadian Financial Services Sector, trying not to allow his sense of satisfaction to turn into gloating. It was difficult. The document that John Cleghorn, chairman of the Royal Bank of Canada, was reading fulfilled none of his hopes, and more. "I read it" he told me the next day in a telephone interview from his Toronto office, "and I couldn't spot any negatives. It's a watershed document."

In the eight months he has been prodding that sanguineous report to its conclusion, the health and future of Canadian banking, Cleghorn has encountered a credibility problem. No matter how hard he tries—and Cleghorn has been actively encouraging the country to deliver his message to anyone who will listen—he has not been believable.

The reasons obvious. He heads the country's largest bank and what's good for the Royal is not necessarily good for Canada. "I guess when we talk about these issues," he says, "it doesn't have the same credibility that an objective group like the Mackay task force has. Clearly, statements made by Mackay are seen to be in the public interest, while statements made by us are suspect in the eyes of some. But the task force recommended a process to put teeth into the commitments we're making so that consumers feel that they're protected, and we don't object to that. I've always said that we feel personally accountable for our promises. We're in the business of making commitments because if we didn't, the business would fail."

Now, an independent and thoughtful panel has carefully studied the issue and come to almost the identical conclusions on the critical issues that the Royal Bank chairman has been trumpeting across the land. No wonder Cleghorn feels vindicated, and best of all, Mackay and his panel members feel the same sense of agency in reforming the system as he does.

Although Mackay's warning that his report is "a flashing yellow" and not a green light for the bank merger to proceed was heeded in last week's news stories, a careful reading of the 300-page document gives a very different impression. "Balance as the status quo is an option," is the report's concluding thought. Exactly.

Most important of the report's 184 recommendations are those that will enhance the competitiveness of Canadian financial institutions and impose prudent new regulations that will effectively balance the need for safety and soundness with the need to facilitate competition and innovation. "This will be essential in restructuring Canada's financial sector if banking is to remain a viable and competitive industry," the report states. "The existing regulatory framework can no longer accommodate the lightning

changes shaking up the most dynamic sector of the economy. Staying competitive means staying alive in this cutthroat arena, and as much as we may hate the idea of foreign banks, that's what the globalized economy demands."

"What we've got here is the beginning of the compromise that eventually will allow the basic elements to proceed. Instead of relying on the bankers' pledges, the Mackay report points to the way Ottawa should set down the strict conditions under which the bank mergers will be allowed to proceed."

"The question is not we change fast enough," says Cleghorn. "We must become leaders in the process if we're going to emerge as an independent and strong Canadian industry five or 10 years out." This is no rhetorical exercise. Any country with the hope of retaining some form of independence must control its banking system. The task force supported that by suggesting that the current, higher-cost minimum ownership rule be extended only to 30 per cent. But modern technology bypasses such old-fashioned provisions. It's the Internet and eventually the universal adoption of e-cash that will erode the limits of competition in this rapidly changing business.

"We're a full-service operator at the moment," says Cleghorn, "but what we'll have to determine down the road is whether we can still stay in everything we do now. For example, in the last two years all the Canadian banks elected to get out of the payroll business, which employed more than 2,000 Canadians but is now controlled by two American suppliers, Automatic Data Processing Inc. and Centra Corp., out of Minneapolis."

One of the most controversial issues is how to stop the financial institutions from practicing tied selling, which forces customers buying one kind of service to take another. Cross-selling, a benign version of that technique, which allows the banks to give quantity discounts on multi-services, is legal, courteous and selling is not. Cleghorn agrees with that distinction and pledges not to take under the wing of the banks' expanding mandates.

The rampers issue is not going to go away. The next step will be parallel hearings on Mackay's recommendations by Commons and Senate committees that start this month, to be followed before year-end by a report from the competition bureau on the specific merger in process.

When that Martin comes to make the final decision on this politically charged issue, he could do worse than recall Harold Mackay's sensible report. Apart from taking acceptable and necessary new ground rules for the banks, it opens the way for some badly needed restructuring for the whole financial system. Hopefully, it will become much less easy for its practitioners and much more fair for its users.

'We're in the business of meeting commitments,' says the Royal's Cleghorn. 'If we didn't the business would fail.'

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Diane Francis

The U.S. President is a 'dry drunk'

The Bill Clinton fiasco marks the beginning of the end of the current version of democratic leadership and not a minute too soon.

Worldwide, the leaders at the turn of the 20th century mostly consisted of assassins or colonial appointees. Two wars and television later, leadership became a running combination of sedition, media-driven packaging and media manipulation. Once in power, leaders and their advisors attempted to remain popular by using photo opportunities, media shenanigans and soundbites from Gallup.

The currently successful Bill Clinton was simply the latest and greatest of these manipulators. He groomed himself for the top job for years. He cultivated powerful allies, worked on his eloquence and married a brilliant and equally seductive political operative.

Like most "leaders," he cynically ingested from one set of beliefs to another for political expediency. Before his first election as president, he had his support for the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement when polls showed most people were against it, then conformity in office, he became an ardent free trader.

Over the years, Clinton and his opinions have followed the personality popularity polls closely. They were masterful in their management of the media, which, until recently, adored and protected him. The few media whistle-blowers that came along were promptly chastised. When were the infamous *New York Times* and *Washington Post* when it came to exposing this man's fundamental dishonesty and constant subverting the president of the United States? Where were the Republicans? It took a lovely Internet "publish or" Matt Drudge, to expose publicly the President's sexual problems.

Until the scandal broke into the open, the public, borrowing cynicism from the media, loved Clinton, too. He was the consummate 20th century leader. A skilled speaker with charm and magnetic intellect, he was easily packaged and sold. Now, thanks to the *New York Times* and independent report, the world knows differently. He is a deeply flawed human being.

Nobody's perfect, but Clinton's disorders disqualify him as a good leader or leadership material. It would seem, tragically, that he never rose above his background. The unfortunate truth in his case is you could take the boy out of the trailer park, but you couldn't take the trailer park out of the boy. Bill Clinton, for all his IQ and charm, is the victim of a dysfunctional upbringing. For this, we should all have compassion. But we should not confer power.

This Arkansas childhood was blighted by poverty, divorce and alcoholism. His behavior—a secret life, denial and dishonesty—is what alcoholism and other addictions are all about. While there is no evidence of alcohol abuse by Clinton, the President is what's

known, in Alcoholics Anonymous terminology, as a "dry drunk." This is a person who does not abuse alcohol, but embodies all the negative characteristics of an alcoholic.

This personality disorder helps explain why Clinton recklessly carried on with women, then badly lied about the latest, Monica Lewinsky, on national television in January. He also stood by his others, including his closest aides and wife, deluding his lies. Once caught, he went on national television without a proper apology, then looked out at the special prosecutor even though his confession validated Starr's efforts. More denial.

The shame of modern leadership was further epitomized with the "superpower" summit earlier this month between Clinton and Boris Yeltsin. There was the U.S. President looking off to pose as the leader of the Western world when he must have known he was about to be exposed as a gladiator who lived for months about his sexual escapades with a young woman who arrived at the White House as a 21-year-old intern. His party was about to orphan him and make him a lame-duck leader.

Finally, his Moscow counterpart's biggest health problem is his consumption of alcohol. As with Clinton's sexual pathology, stories about Yeltsin's drunkenness, including at state functions, have been rampant for years in media and diplomatic circles, but they have rarely made headlines in Russia. Even so, Yeltsin controls nuclear weapons and receives billions of dollars in aid from the West every year.

Even though he was virtually powerless, Yeltsin, being a good performer, met in grand style with Clinton. Just days later, his parliament was about to emasculate him by refusing to approve his package of reforms or his chosen candidate as prime minister. Both emperors had no clothes and yet they danced the dance of summary.

The 20th century's version of Chinese leaders is flawed because it is largely based on political apathy that rewards poor performance. That's why politics attracts only performers who are skilled at wearing masks, not persons of real substance and skills. What's needed are level-headed managers, not leaders like Yeltsin and Clinton who grab and hold power through manipulation, charisma and emotion.

The best political model when it comes to leadership is Switzerland. A president is chosen by those elected to serve a one-year term. The cabinet is proportionately representative of the parties sent to parliament. The president operates like a chief executive officer who must answer to all parties and voters. The result is that few outside Switzerland know the name of its president because the president changes every year. But that's the beauty of it all. It's a nation led by managers, not by phony men with problems who are packaged to look like men of strong character and vision.



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The children of sperm donors

Pressure grows to identify anonymous fathers

BY DANYLO HAWALESHKA

Sarah is a tiny young in a typical 16-year-old girl. She attends high school, enjoys shopping and has plenty of friends. She is, however, different in one important respect: she does not know her biological father—and probably never will. Sarah, who lives in British Columbia and asked that her real name not be used, was born after her mother visited a fertility clinic to be inseminated with sperm provided by an anonymous donor. Today, an important part of Sarah's social and medical history is missing. The doctor who performed the insemination has divulged only the donor's height and the color of his hair and eyes. Without knowing more, Sarah says she is left without answers to profound questions about her personal identity and genetic health. "As she puts it, 'I just want my basic right, which is my history'."

Sarah is not alone. But no one knows precisely how many share her plight. Health Canada estimates that anywhere from 1,500 to 6,000 babies are born in Canada each year as a result of so-called donor (or surrogacy) but because of heightened concern keeping that continues to this day, authorities are unable to be more precise than that. What is more, the lack of records leaves young adults like Sarah with no way of finding out whether hereditary diseases run in their father's family. These children are also saddled with the psychological burden of never knowing their father. "We knew from the moment from adoption that I'm nobody, knows nothing at all about a biological parent, a schizoid projection of people left incomplete," says Dr. Patrick Baird, who chaired the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies. "For the sake of the child, you need some social and medical history of the donor."

With Parliament resuming this week, Health Minister Allan Rock is under mounting pressure to introduce legislation on reproductive technologies that promised more than two years ago in response to the royal commission's 1980 report. Advocates such as Nanaimo, B.C.-based Shirley Prizzen, who co-chaired a support group called the New Reproductive Alternatives Society in 1987, want Rock to create a national registry to track sperm donors and their offspring as they do in Sweden, New Zealand and parts of Australia. The registry would store and update a donor's medical history throughout his life and allow the donor's offspring to look up that information or contact the biological father. As well, limits on the number of children that a donor can father should be lowered from the 10 typically allowed by clinics, Prizzen says. Unlike donating blood, she adds, a sperm donor's duty does not end with a sample in a jar, and requires a lifelong commitment. "We believe,"

Prizzen says, "that donors are morally and ethically responsible for their children."

Although the first recorded case of donor insemination took place well over a century ago—in Philadelphia in 1884—the practice is still often associated with dirty little secret. There are several reasons for that. Few men are comfortable admitting that they are infertile, fearing their inability to procreate will be equated with impotence. Physicians have also been loath to take a doctor known best approach by selecting a donor, then refusing to tell the woman anything about him as the name of protecting his anonymity. Some doctors have destroyed medical records for the same reason. Canada has no law covering the long-term preservation of these medical records. In Ontario, for example, the College of Physicians and Surgeons allows doctors to destroy files after 10 years of inactivity.

To address these perceived wrongs, Toronto sociologist Ross Achilles favors bringing donor insemination out of the closet.

"Made infidelity has been hard to talk about and stigmatized—it can be a real blow to a man," Achilles says. "Then to have this other guy who wallops in and impersonates your wife... well, you've got to talk about that."

Achilles, of course, speaking metaphorically. Under the practice, a doctor injects donated sperm into the woman's uterus. Canadian practitioners are required to use sperm that has been quarantined for six months to guard against AIDS. Beyond that, the industry is largely self-regulated and relies on voluntary guidelines established by groups like the Canadian Fertility and Andrology Society and the American Society for Reproductive Medicine. As for the users themselves, they typically fall into three categories: women whose husbands are infertile, single women and lesbians.

In recent years, most sperm banks have taken steps towards meeting the public's growing demand for more information. One of them, Toronto-based Regenerated Ltd., has earned a reputation as a trendsetter in part because it maintains its records indefinitely. Moreover, the sperm bank stores samples of the donor's DNA and blood for



future medical screening. If one of a donor's offspring aged 18 or more requests identifying information about his or her father, Regenerated will inform that donor. Then, if the donor consents, the two can meet.

But there are problems. Regenerated supplies no identifying information about the donor's physical characteristics, attitudes and personality with every sperm sample shipped to a physician's office. Where the system breaks down, however, is with the doctor and other health care practitioners who perform donor insemination. Currently, no law requires physicians to pass along the information to the patient, says Cathy Roberts, Regenerated's assistant clinical director. The woman receiving the sperm, therefore, has no way to ask for "A lot of people still are not aware that that kind of information is available to them," Roberts adds. "All they need to do is ask."

In fact, a lot of people go through donor insemination without asking enough questions. Not only about the donor, but also about the consequences of raising a child who will very likely never know his or her biological father. That was the case with two Toronto social workers—call them Jeff and Barbara—who found themselves in need of help in the early 1980s. Married, they both wanted a child, but Jeff was infertile. They opted for donor insemination under a procedure that eventually cost them about \$2,000. The fertility clinic supplied the donor's age, last eye exam, profession, interests, 40% and race. It did not, however, offer counselling. "Basically, the attitude was 'You can't have a baby, you want a baby, we're going to get you a baby,'" Jeff says. "There wasn't any sense about what would happen later on, or any discussion about disclosure or advice about any other possible future."

Jeff and Barbara now have a healthy five-year-old boy who loves sports. But because they never received any counselling, Jeff lacks answers to important questions. Jeff, for example, is stressed when asked whether the sperm bank and his wife went to his kept up

available, and with inadequate time to weigh the consequences, she did not point when the doctor went ahead. "In effect, the doctor gave her no choice to stop the process," Jeff recalls. "It was outrageous." Fortunately, he adds, his wife did not conceive, so they did not end up losing children by two different fathers. (For unrelated reasons, the couple has since decided not to have a second child.)

Another concern lies with the law. In the past, it was a woman's legal obligation to the children to father them. Only Quebec, Newfoundland and the Yukon have amended their laws to sever the sperm donor's legal responsibility for the child. Elsewhere, the legal system has forced the courts to be creative. In 1995, an Ontario man estranged from his wife, who had a daughter who was conceived through donor insemination, was declared the girl's father despite the absence of previous law governing the matter. In the landmark case, the father, citing Ontario and federal legislation protecting the best interests of the child, ruled the girl needed a father since she would never know the anonymous sperm donor. In another case in Ontario last year, a lesbian lawyer took the rare legal step of trying to get herself declared the second mother of a child born to her partner as a result of donor insemination. The two women had loved together for seven years and resented the judge awarding custody to the birth mother.

Despite the emotional hardship the situation caused, the judge, Shirley Prizzen in Nanaimo is quick to emphasize that donor insemination has made a lot of people happy by giving them wonderful children. "We're not saying that this is an awful procedure," Prizzen says. "We're just saying there are some important issues to think about." Jean Blaise, a social worker with the department of reproductive endocrinology and infertility at the London Health Sciences Centre, agrees, adding that it is up to the would-be parents to get all their facts straight. "People have to think of themselves as consumers," Blaise says, "and not just vulnerable patients." □

Robert with a Reproductive Insemination
Donor has promised legislation

Money and influence

BY MARK NICHOLS

Eight years ago, the international drug giant Merck & Co. launched efforts in Canada to market a genetically engineered hormone that can dramatically improve cow milk production. The move sparked swift and fierce opposition from Canadian dairy farmers and consumer organizations, who worried that the growth hormone bovine somatotropin could pose a health hazard to people. Merck's campaign ran into regulatory obstacles as well, and after years of delay, Ottawa's Health Canada has yet to approve BST for use in Canadian dairy herds.

But now, scientists who renew new drugs for the department's health protection branch are complaining that when they expressed concerns about BST's safety for humans, senior officials harassed and intimidated them. Steve Chopin, one of six scientists who took their grievance to Ottawa's Public Service Staff Relations Board, told a hearing last week that a senior official warned him that "if we didn't cooperate, we will be transferred to some place where we will never be heard from again." Saying the department's letters have slipped away from surviving the photocopy, Chopin added: "We are working in a new environment—we are serving the [drug] industry."

The Ottawa hearing came amid rising concerns within the research community that the pharmaceutical industry, which finances a growing share of Canadian medical research, is using its clout to pressure scientists. Last week, the Medical Research Council had two other federal funding bodies unveiled a revised ethics policy that, among other things, lays down rules aimed at preventing drug companies and other financial backers from exerting influence over clinical studies. Although officials said they began drafting the new guidelines in 1994, their release came as a bitter dispute over alleged drug company pressure was linked at Toronto's Sick Children Hospital for Sick Children. There, researcher Dr. Nancy Olivieri has accused Toronto-based Apotex Inc. of threatening legal action if she published a study of a drug developed by the firm. "When drug companies fund research," says Steven Lewis, CEO of Saskatchewan's Health Services Utilization and Research Commission, "they are interested in positive results. They can cause a re-



Dr. Edwards, warning how a pharmaceutical firm that "we would never get funding from them again."

searcher's life hell by launching a lawsuit—it's a real change for them."

But BST was not the only controversy facing the health protection branch last week. RCMP officials in Ottawa confirmed that an investigation was under way into the branch's approval of the Merck silicone breast implant, which went on sale in Canada in 1982. The implant was taken off the market in 1991 of

that when they expressed concern about drug-related issues, including the safety of milk from BST-injected cows, they were shuffled within the department and given other assignments. George Peterson, director general of Health Canada's food division, had a different version of events. There were "no transfers per se," he insisted—the moves were simply temporary assignments aimed at to reduce work burdens.

The disturbing testimony came as no surprise to Dr. Michelle Bell-Ezard, an Ottawa physician who quit her job as a senior reviewer for the health protection branch in 1996. In her view, potentially dangerous drugs were being rushed through the approval process. According to Rick Edwards, pharmaceutical industry influence at the branch is usually subtle. "Staff will be signalled by a call from the senior level asking why a certain product is not in the market yet," she says. "Why is it so if it is in progress? But now the reviews are hurried."

Scientists in university laboratories are equally worried about recent evidence that drug companies are seeking to stifle research findings. In May, researchers published a study involving cholesterol-lowering drugs—after Montreal-based Bristol-Myers Squibb

Canada went to court to sue an unsuccessful effort to suppress it. The study by the Ottawa-based Canadian Co-ordinating Office for Health Technology Assessment was not critical of the Bristol-Myers Squibb drug, pravastatin. Still, the company had objected to the report's conclusion that other drugs of the same type would have similar therapeutic effects. The court's decision, said David Naylor, CEO of Toronto's Institute for Clinical Evaluative Sciences, "was victory for common sense over an attempt to interfere with the free expression of scientific information."

In Toronto, the crisis erupted at the Hospital for Sick Children after Olivieri issued a statement that an Apotex drug undergoing clinical trials might harm patients. When Apotex officials threatened legal action if Olivieri published her findings, the hospital did not support her—a stand that outraged many other health researchers. Just initial requests for data for an outside investigation of the issue, hospital officials have appointed the University of Manitoba's Dr. Arnold Nemeroff to look into the matter and report by Nov. 30. Meanwhile, Olivieri's findings, showing that the drug deforms bone, might cause heart problems and other complications in patients treated for a rare blood disease, were published in *Drug Information of the New England Journal of Medicine*.

Scientists in Toronto's Sunnybrook hospital say they have felt the heavy hand of drug company influence as well. Mark Henkelman, Sunnybrook's vice president of research, told *Maclean's* that in the early 1980s a drug company attempted to stop the hospital from publishing a study that found that one of its products had no benefit. "They sent top brass from Europe who tried to make sure the results never see the light of day," said Henkelman. The company closed the study's conclusions were the result of flawed procedures. "I agreed that our researchers had to be the better off at the law in every detail," Henkelman said. "But there was not enough wrong to invalidate the results. I said we would publish what we found." Company officials warned that "we would never get funding from them again," added Henkelman.

Some experts believe drug company interference as Ottawa's dwindling support for scientific research. After years of federal budget cuts, the Medical Research Council this year will spend \$807 million to fund research—up only marginally from the \$753 million it spent in 1994. Meanwhile, drug company funding for research has doubled since 1980. According to the Ottawa-based Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association of Canada, Drug companies spent an estimated \$625 million on research in Canada last year. Of that, more than \$420 million went to clinical testing of drugs, and more than \$140 million to basic research.

Robert Dugal, the pharmaceutical association's director of scientific affairs, said he would not comment on "rumors or percep-



Rick Edwards, subtle pressure to approve drugs

tions" of drug-company interference in research. But he said that member concerns follow Health Canada guidelines covering clinical trials and the publication of results. And some scientists insist that drug company funding is a boon to Canadian research—and that improper interference is rare. Others,

however, believe that industry funding invites trouble. "When scientists have to rely on pharmaceutical companies for funding, they can become vulnerable to pressure," says Dr. John Macneil, a leading Montreal AIDS researcher.

The new ethics policy issued by Ottawa's funding agencies is unlikely to prevent sponsors from exerting influence on researchers—but it may help. The document covers issues ranging from the privacy of individuals involved in clinical studies to research involving embryonic and fetuses. While the threat of outside influence is not specifically discussed, says Francis Bialston, MRC ethics director, "the issue pervades the document," and is covered in sections dealing with conflict of interest and the need for researchers to be responsible for interpreting their findings. Officials said that universities and other research institutions must comply with the policy by next September—or risk being refused government funding. Meanwhile, the emerging evidence of drug company interference should heighten scientists' awareness of the pressures that sometimes accompany corporate cash.

With JOHN DILLON in Ottawa



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Education NOTES



Renee Labo with husband Paul, feeling their way through cyberspace

A seeing-eye mouse

For the blind, talking computers and keyboards in Braille have been around for a few years. But navigating the now-rich environment of Windows or the Internet demands the equivalent of an electronic seeing-eye dog. Enter the Virtual Reality Mouse, the brainchild of research associate Kevin Nussel and PhD student Dan Madill at the University of Waterloo in Ontario. Together they have created an electronic mouse that connects to the headgear the residents of a home where the boundaries of a Windows' screen lie; at other times, the mouse is tucked into gravity into the user's torso. A click of the mouse will

the computer speak the name of the icon. A double click and the program is opened up and it is off to cyberspace. One of the five students in the SAT/Steve Wosler Award in New York City last month, the VRM is being marketed worldwide by Betacom Corp. of Iphigeneia, Ont. Without the computer voice software, the device sells for \$1,200. In Ontario, the provincial government is currently absorbing up to 75 per cent of the tab for the visually impaired. For the blind—and perhaps the growing number of aging Canadians who have trouble reading a computer screen—this mouse might be just the ticket to the Internet.

Tempers flare as strike continues

With nearly 200,000 Ontario students entering their third week of being locked out of class, seven of the largest Catholic school boards in the province have asked the government to legislate an end to the impasse. The boards—and teachers' unions—are frustrated with the province's refusal to allow them to phase in the new lower class-size limitations over three years instead of right away. Or failing that, to give them the extra money they say they need to meet the new class-size requirements. But the government is holding firm on an new money even as Education Minister David Johnson has been told, then told, on the idea of legislating teachers back to work. He wants the boards to resolve the matter themselves, as some are. Last week, angry parents besieged Johnson's office while another group of 50 parents in Thornhill, north of Toronto, crossed the picket lines with their children and vowed to teach students themselves if their school will not.

But while there is no new money in Ontario, in smooth troubled waters, Premier Glen Clark's government in British Columbia has just added \$350 million to an existing \$1.1-billion school capital budget to build 641 new elementary and high-school classrooms over the next five years. School boards welcomed the announcement, but Clark's political loss denounced it as make-work spending at a time when school enrolment is unsteady, and even declining in some places where the economic downturn is forcing young families to pursue job opportunities in other provinces.

UNIVERSITY ROUNDUP

Freshman class. The University of Manitoba has introduced a transition year for new entrants, a first-year offering of courses designed to reduce the number of long-term dropouts. University 1, as it is called, is "a year to get your feet," says director Beverly Cameron, and designed to let new students sample as many options from its many disciplines as possible before settling on a degree course. Alarmed that too many students were switching programs in midstream—and in the process losing academic credit or even their will to go on—Manitoba's buffet of first-year courses is providing the freshman class with academic and career workshops at the same time. University 1 does not add a year to the regular three- and four-year degree programs, says Cameron. But it can reduce the number of students who can take in later years once they have settled on a program.

Face-lift. The grand old dame of Canadian law libraries was given a much longed-for face-lift last week. The Naham Galtier Law Library, no the new facility at McGill University is called, starts from an \$11-million gift from alumni and national law firms. It has nearly double the space of McGill's old law library, with 300 new electronic work stations and even an atrium. And it opens just as McGill is contemplating serious changes to its law program. This time next year, students are to begin a concerted program integrating Canadian common law studies with those of the Quebec civil code, instead of following them along in separate streams as in the case now. They will also be able to fast-track their degrees in three years instead of the current four to cut down on debt.

Loonies. After years of cutbacks, university libraries are trying to restock. But a plunging Canadian dollar is playing havoc with new-found acquisition budgets, says the Canadian Association of Research Libraries. At least 70 per cent of books and scholarly journals are purchased in American funds. The University of Calgary and the University of Alberta are each estimating a \$200,000 loss on the exchange rate, which works out to about 2,800 books or 400 journal subscriptions that will not be purchased.

Dilett. All things considered—tuition, board and books—the cheapest province in which to get a university education is Saskatchewan (averaged at \$8,101 a year) and the most expensive is Ontario (\$10,348) followed closely by Nova Scotia (\$10,257), according to a survey by USC Education Savings Plans, a Massachusetts, unit. Complicity that markets too-strict plans to parents. The survey does not include such big-budget items as law or medical degrees where tuition alone now costs \$6,000 to \$20,000 at some Ontario schools. USC projects that if current increases persist, the cost of an undergraduate year at a Canadian university will be roughly \$22,000 by 2016.

People

Edited by
TANIA DAVIES

Stars shine on Toronto

The actor's condition was grave, and looking awful. "Let me be completely honest with you," said the studio publicist, tentatively trying to explain why **Ben Stiller** had canceled himself in the middle of an interview earlier and canceled the rest of his afternoon schedule. "We think it's some kind of flu. Right now, he's sleeping, and we don't know how serious it is until he gets up." Oscar Stiller, 52, had finally risen from his bed, but he admitted to *Men's* that he had simply been partying late the night before—celebrating the premiere of *Prozac Nation*, in which he plays a drug-addicted sitcom writer. "The overnight that experience is my life," he said of the role—but clearly the man knows how to have fun.

Stiller was one of a horde of stars who descended upon the 22nd Toronto International Film Festival last week. They included *News* Campbell, *Billy Bob Thornton*, *Meryl Streep*, *Cameron Diaz*, and *Tom Cruise* (who flew in on his private jet). And, in keeping with the week's Clinton headlines, it was a festival that featured more than a few men behaving badly, both on and offscreen. After parting with 50 a.m., a blue-eyed *Vince Vaughn*, who plays a semi-literate cowboy in *Clay Pigeons*, identified his way through a morning press conference with co-star *Joaquin Phoenix*. Fellow costar *James Gandolfini* did not show—also barely had time to freshen up between downcast scotch at the festival's after-hours bar and being whisked off at 8:30 a.m. to the Toronto set of *Alfie* (also star *Alfred*). And the onetime wife of *Viggo Mortensen* (*Adam* Hoffman).

Other troups on the festival cocktail circuit included *Christina Slater*, *Jon Favreau*, *Jeremy Piven* and writer-director *Peter Berg* (*Chicago Hope*)—the boys from *Toy Boat*. A scandalous black comedy about a stag party from hell, it is a blood-drenched tale of five buddies who accidentally kill an Asian hooker in a Las Vegas hotel room, murder a black security guard, shoot them up and bury them in the desert—for starters. "This movie will do for bachelor parties what *Back at the Old Mill* did for adultery," Slater suggested in an interview. The 29-year-old actor has racked up 100,000 shares of criticism and misadventure. At the incidents involving cocaine and firearms, last year he was roughed up by his ex-girlfriend *Michelle Jones* and tossed with police—then



Model Helena Christensen, Cruise: Actors partied late into the night. She showed off blue-eyed as canceled interview the next day

The actress, who drives racing cars for looks projects a delinquent image. Asked how she has pulled up in such blue-bustling time as *Very Bad Things* and the summer hit *There's Something About Mary*, she says, "It's not that I want to shock people. I like to be shocked." While guests of some in American films such as *Happiness* and *Very Bad Things* created a buzz at the festival, current events kept pace. Commenting on *Monica Lewinsky's* infamous blue dress, SCTV star *Catherine O'Hara* deadpanned, "If only Ted Koppel you could make money on that kind of thing. I would have saved all my dreams." O'Hara was in town for the festival premiere of *House of Games*, in which she plays a mother whose husband has an



affair with a younger waitress played by *Drew Barrymore*. Last week, O'Hara shopped for a green leather coat at Blooms with co-star (and Barrymore's paramour) *Luke Wilson*. They bargued into Saturday Night Live producer *Lorne Michaels* (clad in a new black leather jacket, who was heading off to the Toronto set of *Big Brother*, a movie he's producing with local director *Bruce McCulloch*). Michaels was grudgingly looking forward to a father-son dinner on the weekend with his 16-year-old son in a camp in Connecticut. "I'm not going to be able to sleep," he said. "But if I take a pill, then when I get up I'll be stumbling around in front of all the other fathers."

Other Canadians visiting the festival included *Donald Sutherland* and son *Kiefer*. Permeating separate rows, they did not cross paths. But they had warm words for each other. Kiefer, 31, who has just finished directing *Human Nature*, a movie with *Billy Hunter* in *Wingspan*, hoped his father would finally get an Oscar nod for his winning portrayal of a track coach in *Robert Towne's*

Without Limits. "The idea that over the course of his career he hasn't been nominated is astonishing," said Kiefer, who excoriated his mother, actress *Shirley Douglas*, to the premiere of *A Soldier's Story*, in which he plays a Vietnam veteran who is asked to work with his father. "But he got to find the right project and the right time," Dad Douglas, 65, said. "I'm glad he's directed by Kiefer. I like the idea of just being an old guy in one of his films, like *Walker* in *Serve Man*," he stated. "It's an age of bad boys, finally values are not completely extinct."

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

The man who would be king

The guy has the greatest smile. Exuberant, boyish, almost disbelieving, he can light up a stadium. But the smile would be overlooked, of course, without the swing, which is also great, and which has suddenly made baseball's home-run derby a two-man race again. With two mighty swings in a single game last week, *Slammin' Sammy Sosa* became only the second player in major-league history to belt 62 homers in a single season, surpassing not only Babe Ruth's 60 but Roger Maris's 61.

And now those two 100-foot-long sluggers, *Sosa* of the Chicago Cubs and the St. Louis Cardinals' *Mark McGwire*—who have become the best of buddies in their competitive quest—have until season's end on Sept. 27 to determine the all-time King of Clout. "It's unbelievable," said a beaming *Sosa* after clubbing No. 62. "It was something that even I can't



Sosa: he and McGwire have become pals in competition

believe I was doing. It can happen to two people, Mark and I."

The way it happened to *Sosa* was quite different from the way it happened to *McGwire*, whose second home-run blast on Sept. 13 was a confrontive video spectacle. By contrast, the Cubs game on Sept. 13 was not carried on

national TV, nor was Chicago's venerable Wrigley Field packed with dignitaries. But the standing-room-only crowd saw quite a show. The 29-year-old *Sosa* hit not one but two home runs over the ivy-covered wall and out into the bays on the Waveland Avenue side.

The second—the home-run-er—set off a four-minute standing ovation and sent people in *Sosa's* native Dominican Republic, pouring into the streets. The celebration was whisked to the Pele de Maricao, the world's home where *Sosa* grew up. (The first baseball glove was made from a milk carton) and where he still winters with his wife, *Sonia*, and their four young children. Not that *Sosa* can rest on his laurels.

He's trying not only to win the home-run race but to carry his Cubs into the playoffs, while *McGwire* will lead 64 to 63 at the weekend—keeping swinging despite back spasms. "I feel great to be there with Babe Ruth, Roger Maris and Mark McGwire," *Sosa* said. "But I've still got a job to do."

Diaz, Slater (above): *Savannah* (left foreground); *Favreau*, *Slater's* latest role, in a film about a British stag party, was "a chance to exercise my dream"

seried 90 days behind bars. His role as the psychotic insider in *Toy Boat* "gave me a chance to exercise my personal dreams," he says. "We know how sick my parties are, and hopefully there isn't going to be any more of them. I just don't feel that if you become a movie star it's going to solve all your problems. But then you get to the point where there's a road, an egoistic road, you have to turn to your soul. To me, there's a potential to be an actor-murderer or a Buddhist in all of it."

Gothic Diaz, meanwhile, plays a lyricalist while planning her wedding along the amphitheater—Berg describes her character as "Martha Stewart with a bad case of rabies." After *My Best Friend's Wedding*, *Diaz* is getting used to playing the beleaguered bride. "We learned a lot about weddings," says the 26-year-old actress. "It's over for me now. I'm pined." Sinking on a candy and toying with a tube of lipstick, *Diaz* slouches on a chair with her bare feet tucked under her

The tube's cult of youth

BY JOE CHIDLEY

The protocol for accepting a lifetime achievement award is pretty simple: pick up the statuette, say a few nice words and shuttles off into obscurity. But this June 11 the Bell International Television Festival, Don Hewitt was not about to go gently into that great post-prime-time night. In developing an award honoring his 30 years as executive producer of CBS's flagship, 60 Minutes, the 75-year-old Hewitt took a few shots at the television industry. On the top of his list was the current profusion of lekchute TV news magazines—think *Hard Copy*, *Inside Edition*, 48 Hours, *Dateline*—and he ended against a CBS plan to launch a midweek clone of his own show. Hewitt declared, his become center "cannons folder," used by networks to make up for their inability to produce widely appealing drama or comedy. "Behind every news magazine is a failed sitcom," he said. "If the networks had another Jackal Gissano, they wouldn't wait another 60 Minutes."

As the U.S. networks and their Canadian counterparts roll out yet another slate of new fall shows, one response to Hewitt's witful thinking seems to read: fat chance. Gissano is dead. *I Love Lucy*, *MASH* and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* live on only in reruns. With the exception of *ER*, *Friends* and the four departed *Seinfeld*s, many of the broad-based hit, watched by young and old, male and female, black and white, are history. TV types put it down to "late memories"—the dying-up of the audience among hundreds of channels in the States and *Sépties* in Canada. And the networks have been the big losers. Over the past four years the U.S. Big Four—ABC, NBC, CBS and Fox—have seen audience share drop from 60 per cent to 58 per cent in Canada between 1990 and 1995, the non-specialty channel audience share fell from 47 per cent to just over 75. On the whole, the network response to the trend has been—puzzled—more diagnostic

Only a handful of new shows aim to snag a broad-based audience



Raver (left) in *Felicity*; this season, the *Single White Female* is queen of the clicker

tion, shows with specific appeal to capture a particular age or income group that will in turn, attract advertisers. In an ideal world, all this catering to narrow audiences could be good news for viewers, promising something for everybody. Trouble is, the network idea of a first classly visible target group seems to be getting more specific, but younger all the time. This season, the *Single White Female*—in a raft of new sitcoms and a couple of dramas—is queen of the clicker, thanks to *Ally McBeal*. The Fox comedy drama that apparently captured the imaginations of young adult women everywhere. For viewers who don't

happen to be college-educated, white and female—or who are those things, but remain stubborn enough to believe their tastes transcend their demographics—there are still a few appealing prospects this season. At least one of them is from Canada: *Da Vinci's Inquest* (CBC), starring Nicholas Campbell as an alcoholic coroner, is smart and compelling—great TV, with no need to appeal the "for a Canadian show" caveat. But on the whole, this year's TV push of let little of take to viewers who are out of the loop—seniors, for instance, or parents who want to watch prime-time shows with their kids. Perhaps they can take comfort in

the hope that, some day, they may again be fashionable. After all, to paraphrase a man who knew his audience, there's a demographic born every minute.

Gid Talk: Among the several medicalish new shows, there is one apparently watching his. *Wish* has dubbed *Felicity* (CTV) "Ally McBeal Goes to College." And if it delivers on its promise, this saga of a Caliber-

nia teenager following her heart is proof that just because something is trendy doesn't mean it's a bad. In the premiere, Felicity Porter (Kim Raver) is held against her controlling parents, who want her to attend Stanford Medical School, by going to college in New York City instead—where, not by chance, the bawdy glee she (read) her in high school is also going. As the title character, Raver manages to be both vulner-

A WEEKLY WALK WITH DEATH

Forget picture-perfect Vancouver. Dominik Da Vinci's world is the drifter's café, the derelict reaches of the waterfront, the needle-tipped alleys where every morning finds another strike dead. And for the rest of the season, Campbell will be at the centre of the new CBC series *Da Vinci's Inquest*, premiering on Oct. 7 at 9 p.m., creator Chris Hadlock thought at once of drugs, tough-talking Nicholas Campbell. "I wanted an actor that had some experience out on the streets, and he has this," says Hadlock. "His little life legs."

So does Da Vinci, an ex-barbican cop whose overstated passions and persistence bring him into frequent conflict with the pathologists and police with whom he works—and just as often with himself. Shot with a brooding sadness in some of Vancouver's seediest neighborhoods, the show is an end-of-the-century counterpart

to *Melk*, the 1980s Canadian series about a Toronto coroner in Da Vinci's *Inquest*. Da Vinci's *Inquest* is murkier, the light ground harder to find. Hadlock, who won a Gemini for his writing on the series *Night Heat* and previously produced *Murder* for the CBC, developed the new, one-hour show after attending a forensic science conference in Vancouver. The TV producer was struck by how the coroner's role combines the dramatic potential of crime, the law and forensic pathology. And Hadlock observes that since a coroner must make recommendations so that similar events in the future will not cause deaths, "he's stuck with a built-in social responsibility." To prepare for the role, Toronto-based actor Campbell, 46, who already knew his way around a bar and a horse racing track,



Da Vinci's Inquest (centre) to Du Vin's Inquest: a compelling show about an alcoholic coroner

ble and headstrong, but what really helps the show are the supporting bits by Scott Foley (as Felicity's father) and Canadian Scott Speedman as the burned love interest.

On the sitcom front, a predictable slew of erstwhile comedies are following in *Ally*'s high heeled footsteps: the poor *Costello* (Cros/CITV), featuring safety comic Sue Costello as a single mother turned, the *My Name Is Wallace* (CBS/CITV), with Faith Ford (Misty Deason) as a newly single woman returning to her small-town roots and the better-than-*On Jesse* (NBC/Globe), a new vehicle for *Murphy* (with Children's Christian Applegate, who plays a single mother turned with a great dad and a sexy Latin sister). The show's success seems guaranteed—if not because of the surprisingly good Applegate, then because of *Jesse*'s covered 8:30 time slot between *Friends* and *Frasier* on NBC's dominating Thursday lineup.

The best of the new comedies, meanwhile, features a male lead, but the fortunes of *Will & Grace* (NBC/HTV) will be said to depend on its appeal among women. *Grace* (Debra Messing) is a newly married designer who seems to have found the perfect match in Will (Kandice Eric McCormack), a smart, handsome lawyer who also happens to be gay. *My Name Is Wallace* (Debra Messing) is a newly married designer who seems to have found the perfect match in Will (Kandice Eric McCormack), a smart, handsome lawyer who also happens to be gay. *My Name Is Wallace* (Debra Messing) is a newly married designer who seems to have found the perfect match in Will (Kandice Eric McCormack), a smart, handsome lawyer who also happens to be gay.

spent hours with his Vancouver coroner and ally, he says. "I've been down into pathology, seen an autopsy. I was surprised by the human side of the whole thing." If he were, meanwhile, finds many of its stories in inhumanity. The first three episodes revolve around the hunt for a psychotic who enters young prostitutes to death, then dumps their bodies in Vancouver harbor. Later episodes deal with mercy killing, a kinship between death by other means, and a death in the seed-soaked suburbia. Says Campbell: "They got into some pretty strange areas."

But as Hadlock notes about some of the grimmer story lines: "It's not risky, it's not real." A sentiment that Dominik Da Vinci would not doubt drink to.

CHRS WOOD

TELEVISION

by infatuation. The reason? And as Goss is funny, believe it or not, there still seems to be some room for boys and all the girls' love. **The Secret Lives of Men** (ABC/CTV) has its moments as it traces the romantic ups and downs of three single guys with serious low-life relationships with the women in their lives. The best thing about the show is the cast, led by comic actor Peter Onorati in his first TV series, but at times all the testosterone-driven bloat-busting is a bit annoying. The most firmly male-oriented sitcom is also among the best: **Sports Night** (ABC/CTV) is a Larry Sanders Show-like peek behind the scenes at a cable sports newsmagazine. With Peter Onorati and Josh Charles as anchors trying to maintain their love of sport while covering its underbelly, the show is funny and occasionally touching in a male-bonding kind of way. Not that there's anything wrong with that.

Emulation, Canada: Fox should act. Fox's *Bachelor*, the other domestic entrant in the fall season, is more than a few days' progress from CBC's *Made in Canada*, a vehicle for Rick Mercer at *This Hour Has 28 Minutes* fame. The show's first series, co-written by *The Associates* scribe Mark Farrow, follows the machinist/actor Richard Strong (Mercer) on his climb up the corporate ladder at a Canadian TV production company. The situations here are Mercer and Peter Onorati (*The Associates*'s day anchor) as the ready company president. But the behind-the-scenes humor might be too insider-ish to capture general interest.

Closer to the Canadian heart should be **Power Play** (CTV), a slick comedy-drama that is sort of a Jerry Maguire meets *Stop Shot*. Michael Riley plays sleazy Manhattan sports agent who ends up returning to home-town Hamilton to help out the firing-line sports agent at nearby and on his way. Riley is excellent, but *Power Play* seems too wildly between broad comedy and earnest sentimentality—and it may take a while for it to get in shape.

Everybody's Irish An ad of real-time has surfaced this year in the Irish-American saga. **Joe Blundell** and **Joe Hall** (CTV/WIC) star in *Joe Blundell*, a romantic comedy concept engaged to an equally as raucous public defender (Maura Kelly). The two have a dead-end character, but the premise stretches on believably. **Telety** (NBC/CTV), meanwhile, comes on the tongue-tied relationship among Irish-American leeches—a priest (Joe Donavon), a cop (Crispin Freeman), and a leeching uncle (Donovan Freeman). How the show is being typed could the show get? Well, the first lines out of the mouth of the boys' mother are: "Barry up. The potatoes are getting cold." Too bad because the script is otherwise solid and the acting is good—if only *Telety* could get over all this blarney.

Retro TV Two network rules are 1) re-



McDowell (above, center) in *Fantasy Island*, Faro (below, center) in *Buddy Faro*; McCormack, Manning, and Hill & Grace; publicity is new



This season, formulas prevail, from Ally McBeal-ish comedy to retro camp

makers at "dances" shows usually stark and 20) the networks will keep making things anyway. Which is reason enough to greet the new version of **Fantasy Island** (ABC/CTV), inspired by the 1950s cheese-fest, with a healthy dose of skepticism. The surprise is that it is a lot of fun. With Barry Seal (Mann) as *Shog*, *Get Shoggy* as executive producer, the new show is darker and smarter than the original—a good feat, to be sure—and Malcolm McDowell turns in a sturdy egomaniac performance as Mr. Roark, the shrunken figure who makes his guests' dreams come all too true.

Buddy Faro (CBS/WIC) is a remake, but it has a retro feel—and the kind of high concept premise that makes critics wince. A legendary Rat Pack style private investigator (Dennis Farina) is rescued from alcoholic anonymity by a love-lorn and (Frank

Whaley) and returns to take on crime in modern-day Los Angeles. It could be considered, instead, as brilliant. **Fama** (*Get Shoggy*, TV's *Cross Story*) shows in the now-out-of-fame Fire, a character with a penchant for flashy suits, martinis, and the adjective "toasty"—as in, "What a toasty scene this is, man." Spiritually dead but still convincing, the show has the feel of an *Elmore Leonard* novel and does not of a Queens Theatre film.

There are only two things working against **Buddy Faro**: the uneven 6 p.m. Friday time slot, and the fact that its makers, subtle sensibility may be difficult to sell to young audiences. **Joe Hall** (*Shog* and *McBeal*), the show will probably not survive unless a vocal cult following gets behind it. Or unless the TV audience—youth and old, male and female—proves to be a lot toasty than the TV industry thinks it is. □

TELEVISION



Robert: he has always dreamed of being this country's Letterman

Gabbing his way to the big time

BY JOE CHIDLEY

On the night John Bratton's office in the old Masonic Temple, workers are taping out the gals of the historic downtown Toronto office, peering in lights and drug ceilings, toilets and showers and walls, transforming the stoned concrete into a state-of-the-art TV studio. In fact, Bratton, an affable guy in a mustache and half-cup, is explaining to a visiting journalist how much he has enjoyed being movie producer at *Open Mike* with Mike Bullard. "It's been a blast," says Bratton. "And it's certainly been unpredictable." Just then, there's a loud banging on the office window and a vision is red and hot—a C.A.N.A. D.A. swastika over a group of black shirts—yells in Bratton's voice: "You!" shouts Mike Bullard. "You're the only one who said I looked like a hawker! I'm sorry for that, man." As the host stares away, Bratton says: "That's it with Mike," he says. "It's like, 'Does he mean it? Or is he just going with it?'"

Mike Bullard is a pre-emptive action on *Open Mike* has left the object of Bullard's snarky satire: *idol* use the word—a reference to his snarky, snark, toady guy and chubby cheeks (not so chubby any more—he has lost 30 lbs. since last year). But the article also pointed out the important thing: how much Bullard has had a natural feel for audiences and a humorist's eye of wit and gracefulness that argued well for what was then a pretty daring experiment in Canadian

Mike Bullard hosts Canada's first decent late-night talk show

TV. Since *Open Mike* debuted last November—with the last yanking it up five nights a week on the Comedy Network—Bullard has proven the proposition right, returning for his second season this week. He has pulled off what had eluded everybody else a good, Canadian, late-night talk show.

This is no small feat. Previous Canada attempts to invade the midnight domain of Jay Leno and David Letterman were, to put it politely, less than successful—"Poor Coward's *Deadly 30 Minutes Late* the observation that was *Friday Night* with *Night* Bratton." As

Temple: the show used to be shot in the back of Wayne Grady's Restaurant and the SkyDome: a space the crew had to clear out every Friday to make room for bar mitzvahs and wedding parties and a nightly, national airing on CTV stations at 12:30 in addition to its Comedy Network runs. Bullard's show will be seen by a new—and bigger—audience. Next that Bullard is looking for: "In this country, you can go from insignificance to fame to anonymity in six months," he says, all calm down now while sipping coffee and pulling Export "It's at a cafe just down the street" from the Temple. "So anything that happens after this is gravy."

By now, Bullard's anonymity-to-fame story—the subject of so many magazine and newspaper stories lately—should be pretty familiar stuff. And it would be easy to conclude that Bullard is an over-the-top over-the-top story; it seems to fit so well. Until the show debuted last November, he was looking after a relative obscurity at Bell Canada, now after a year on air and at the age of 41, he's suddenly a working-class celebrity and a media darling. But the facts, getting to where he has been Bullard's plan for a long, long time.

First off, he has always wanted to be a talk-show host. Growing up in the Toronto suburb of Mississauga, he and his younger brother Phil would stay up late and sneak into the family room to watch *The Tonight Show* with Johnny Carson. "My parents used to break," he says. "But once they got up and allowed me to watch Carson, he never stayed

TELEVISION

is. "After high school, Ballard landed a job at Bell, working his way up from telephone installer to associate director of corporate installations. But in 1988—after brother Pat left Canada to begin a screenwriting career in Los Angeles—Mike took his wisecracks to comedy-club amateur nights. "I got tired of getting punched in the mouth at parties," he says, "so I went into show business."

So began a decade of moonlighting on the Canadian comedy circuit, where he became a fixture as a bawdy-but-benign—*à la* Yak Yak's comedy club. "All I ever wanted to do was laugh," he recalls. "Other guys would say, 'What do you want to do when it's not funny?' And I'd say, 'Well, it's what you make it.' " To the back of his mind, he was thinking of another comic-style regular who wrote as a bigger thing: "Latterman showed all his skills as host at The Comedy Store—he never headlined. It was just he, too, think, talk, laugh, think, talk."

Eventually, Ballard started peddling his act around the CBC, where he landed a stint on *Friday Night!* (a two-act, comedy roast), and did warm-up for Mike Macleod's variety show. He captured his funny bones at CBC's "comedy club" *Robson and Don Friesen*. After the Comedy Network got its license, Robson became its vice-president—and Friesen had already been appointed president of CTV, which owns 60 percent of the specialty channel. Ballard was one of the first guys they called.

But the first couple months of *Open Mike* were not pretty. Despite all those years in comedy clubs, Ballard looked nervous in front of a studio audience—and even more so on edge while interviewing. Not that it was all his fault. Ballard is remembered as a "spokes" master of the kind of audience interaction that, in its freer form, usually begins with an audience member "you know?" and ends up with a back about a person's hair or job, or anatomy, or—well, whatever. It's a funny routine, but for people used to lulled Canadian politeness, it can be off-putting. And the early *Open Mike* audiences didn't seem willing to play along. Then there were the "rehearsals" (mostly Canadian actors and comedians, many of whom had never been interviewed on air before). "They'd say, 'Where's the TelePrompter, where's the script?'" Ballard recalls. "And I'd be like, 'There is no script, you're supposed to come on and be yourself.' Well, they'd say, 'I don't think anybody wants to see that.'"

Friesen and Robson stood behind *Open Mike*. They had after all, seen talk-show troubles before: back in the early '80s with the *Demogorgon* debacle, when both were at the CBC. "We tried to learn from *Friday Night!*," says Friesen. "It's part of why we started the show very small and built, giving us a chance to make mistakes quietly." Gradually, both the studio and home audiences started getting



Ballard with *Open Mike* executive director Toly Dykx, keeping the show small and funny

the joke. For Ballard, the turning point came last Christmas. "I'd been telling myself, 'So shows to go, and then I can go get a job at Dykx,'" he says. Then, while shopping at a Mississauga mall with his wife of 14 years, Debbie (who had two children ages 24 and 22), he got nudged by a lady. "My wife said, 'You see? People like the show. All you ever thought about was getting this show so we can go back and have fun.' After that, it was done."

'In this country, you can go from anonymity to fame to anonymity in six months'

Now, with a secure base, the main challenge facing Ballard and his staff is to prevent *Open Mike* from getting too big for its comedy butches. After scoring popular reruns, Denis Leary and Tracey Ullman last season at a now a coveted stop for U.S. restaurateurs doing north-of-the-border publicity. But Ballard and the producers want to keep it small and funny—a formula that defines, like Latterman in his heyday, as the host, not big-name guests. "When Latterman went to CTV," says *Open Mike* producer Allen Mager, "he started to slip over to the other side—he relied on Harrison Ford to sell the show."

Not surprisingly, perhaps, Ballard has already caught the attention of American TV executives. But he says he has no plans to

move. "I don't want to go—I love working here," he has had a chance to use the Canadian expatriate's... experience to chase, through brother Pat, who began at head of the revamped Late Comedian this fall (and in some Canadian markets, against *Open Mike*). "This program took 30 days a year on *Late Comedian*," says Ballard. "It's not my place to tell you how much he's making, but working every day for a year it would be an awful money. For 30 days a year, it's a lot better." But, Ballard insists, having a younger brother making heads over him isn't "what a brother can do at all. Honest to God, I'd do this show for a lot less than I'm doing for."

So will success spoil Ballard? Dwyer seems likely. His personal life, he says, is as track like recently reconciled with his wife, an ex-wife over at Bell, after a bout of marital difficulty, and then just bought a bungalow in Mississauga. And he seems to have resumed what he knows may be a level-headed, down-to-earth guy with a pile of gigs and an easy manner with strangers—great qualities in a man bent on becoming the Canadian Carson.

A case in point: in another interview at the coldest water station up to Ballard's table. "You got the guy on TV who irritates those guys?" he interrupts, standing as if any people die in the province at all liberty. "The answer is to your show, but you're funny." Ballard stands up, shakes the waiter's hand. "Thanks, mate. What's your name?" Walter. "Albert," Ballard. "Thank you, Albert." Then he says with a glimmer at his interview. "Your timing could not have been better. Albert. Mike says you picked up 30 spots on your way out."

Funny guy, Mike Ballard. Even if he does look like a beaver. □

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Gray (left), Peterson
the early stream is
now more joyful

Billy soars again

A classic musical goes on a 20th-birthday tour

John Gray's face is fuller than it was 20 years ago. There is gray in his beard now, and his wide-set eyes blink through reading glasses as he sits at the piano playing the score of his classic 1978 musical, *Billy Bishop Goes to War*. Nearby, his co-author and co-performer, Eric Peterson, struts through the recent rehearsal and in the khaki tunic of the Royal Flying Corps, belting out a song about survival in the aerial dogfights of the First World War. Peterson, too, has changed: his swept-back hair is thinner, and his face seems more careworn. But what is most striking is that *Billy Bishop*—the Canadian fighter ace he is portraying—has aged as well. Gone is the cocky, youthful streamer who narrated the show when it premiered two decades ago. In his place is a middle-aged veteran with a drinking problem and a far more ironic, soulful take on the plot he once was. Though he tells the same tales and sings the same songs as before, they have

taken on a resonance that only the passing of the years can bring. It would seem that *Billy Bishop Goes to War* has matured with its creators.

It is now exactly two decades since the doughty little musical took the Canadian theatre scene by storm. It ran for five years, touring not only Canada but also the United States and Britain, garnering critical praise and winning a 1981 Governor General's Award. Not bad for two guys and a piano.

Now, the two are back, remounting *Billy* for a 20th-anniversary tour that begins in Toronto (Sept. 26 to Oct. 31), before moving on to Vancouver (Nov. 29 to Dec. 12), Winnipeg (March 10 to April 2), London, Ont. (April 12 to May 1), and Ottawa (May 3 to May 23). For Vancouver-based Gray (32, and Torontonian Peterson, 54, the decision to resurrect *Billy* is not without risk. No one can predict whether audiences will still react warmly to the show's mixture of antiheroic pride (the



Peterson, Gray in 1978: *Antagonist for life*

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THEATRE

colossal plot from Owen Sound, Ont., shows the smothery little town it's based on and blyssful them about an on that television and the mention have done to death, *Alvin Karp*. "We have this little town of smothery in the old stories at all times. We don't want to be like that. Beyond, smothery out. The King and I for the national performance."

Yet it is obvious that the two friends are enjoying themselves. Peterson, in particular, has said back into his role with the minds of a fine actor returning to his first love, the stage. After playing Billy the first time, he went on to another performance as Eric, the concentration lawyer in the *Short Legal TV* series. It was a role that understood his role, but he had him and his wife, director and political activist Anne Kidder, support their two daughters, Molly, now 11, and Katie, 6. When the series ended in 1996, he had difficulty, he concedes, readjusting to the cinema's insecurity of always looking for new work. Occasionally, he has found some decent roles. Last year, he won Toronto's Don M. Moore best actor award for his haunting performance in Wallace Shaw's *The Desperate Member*. But he has spent the more time working on run-of-the-mill, mostly American, television and films being made in Toronto. "There have been some pretty dark moments when I think, 'I didn't become an actor to do this!'"

Gray who with his homemaker wife, Beverlee, has two children, Zachary, 15, and Tara, 12, has his own career scars. After Billy he went on to write more musicals, including *Rock and Roll* (1982) and *Don Messer's Jubilee* (1985). But he ended up exhausted from the strain of creating such major shows ("You never have enough time to get them ready"), and in the late '80s, he became a creator of satirical sketches for CBC's *The Journal*. He also wrote the screenplay for the movie *Koolhaas Brown*, a novel and two books of essays that energetically explore such subjects as the paradoxes of Canada's existence in the shadow of the United States. These days, he earns his living mainly as a weekly columnist for *The Vancouver Star*. "I feel like I've never had a job or even a career," says Gray who says his income fluctuates between \$50,000 and \$100,000 a year. "The just doing what I've felt like doing. I've been really lucky that way."

For both men, the two decades since Billy premiered have been, in part, a time of loss. Their parents have died, and so have friends. Such experiences have changed their view of the musical. "Before," says Peterson, "when Billy sang about survival, I always took it as a romantic thing, to do with the war. But now I see the musical as a metaphor for life—we're all trying to survive." *Alvin Karp*. "The idea: you get the more you realize that just surviving takes courage too."

JOHN BERNARDSE

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Allan Fotheringham



Rockefeller was a caricature of a rich puritan

In the book trade they are known as "doornappers." Books of such length they are usually found in coffee tables, more for show than reading. Leading to the old joke that "this is a book that is not put down, is very hard to pick up."

The best doornapper of the year, all 776 pages of it, is *John: The Life of John D. Rockefeller* (Not to be confused with Peter C. Newman's coming *Titus*, a book on Canada's ghost) by Ron Chernow, whose book *The House of Morgan* won the U.S. National Book Award and who is as good a writer—an unusual gift—as he is a researcher.

John D., famous for being the world's richest man, was certainly more interesting than the current holder, computer nerd Bill Gates. Along the way, Chernow shows how our always anonymous Mackenzie King helped solve the fearful Rockefeller maze.

John D.'s father may have been the most interesting of all. The great plutocrat did not come from blue-blood stock. He was born in a small town in upstate New York in 1830. Pop was a fireman, a shaver, a hazzard, a hazzard. He would disappear from home for months at a time, selling colored water as patent medicines to farm wives. He was killed by his son 35 to read the Bible over to cover.

When he married, he simply moved his last girlfriend into the home also and John D. was born sandwiched between two illegitimate babies as pop sired first children with two women in two years. The last had to leave school at 15 because pop now was questioning as a quick runner. "Levenson," at 42 married a 17-year-old he found in Norwich, Ore.

Starting in Cleveland as a bookkeeper at 50 cents a day, the boy was "the Protestant work ethic in the pure form," a strict Baptist Sunday school teacher who never touched alcohol or alcohol in his life who believed "God give us my money."

He was ready along with his God, when they struck oil in Penn.sylvania. He shrewdly bought up all the refineries, "arranged" rebates on the railroad, had oil refineries—but never himself—in the necessary locations. When the Civil War arrived, he received an exemption from the draft by being—as was allowed—"substantially



BY THE CHURCH

for \$300, and when the North was made another furious oil business since the war had cut the supply of southern turpentine.

He was a caricature of the rich puritan father, his four children receiving two cents for killing flies, a penny for every 10 words they pulled up, two cents per day for abstaining from candy. John D. Rockefeller Jr. suffered from migraines throughout his life and one daughter went bankrupt in Switzerland.

When he differed from the Vanderbilts and the Morgans in the Gilded Age was that he wanted to be both rich and virtuous. The love the power to make money is a gift from God—just as are the instincts for art, literature, the doctor's talent.

And the nurse's, yours—as he developed and used to the best of our ability for the good of mankind.

As such, he was genuinely puzzled by criticism and ignored the press. By the 1890s, his Standard Oil monopoly marketed 84 per cent of all petroleum products sold in America. The most useless byproduct of his refineries was gasoline—and then Henry Ford rolled out his first vehicle.

By 1902 when the underwriters and president Teddy Roosevelt got to him, he was the most hated man in the country. When Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis fired baseball's first commissioner following the Chicago Black Sox scandal, he handed down the historic \$27-million fine against Standard Oil in 1907. Mark Twain said it reminded him of the knif's comment the next morning: "I expected it but I didn't suppose it would be so big."

By this time Rockefeller had so much money it was embarrassing and he had begun the greatest philanthropic projects of the ages. He founded the University of Chicago, established groundbreaking educational aid for blacks in the South, spent more money in China than in any country except the United States, and led the world in medical research.

Just then the family reputation was ruined again when nine-burnt ing ghosts massacred a dozen women and children at a Calumet mine. The desperate Rockefellers recruited one William Lyon Mackenzie King, "a wonderland of Canadian politics." His "placidious intelligence" for his employees, he taught them modern labor-management relations, and "like many confessions to the Rockefellers, he had enjoyed the satisfaction of serving both his conscience and his bank account."

In his 90s, John D. had workmen scrape snow off the highways so he could golf in winter. In his afternoon car ride to square between lady friends, he became "an icy-fingered old saint" who "because nervous for his last schoolboy boys' racing under the blanket."

He had always boasted his close life would last until he was 100. He died six weeks short at 98. Visually impaired, his casket was placed in a box-shaped tomb "Goodbye," he'd told Henry Ford, "I'll see you in heaven." Ford: "You will if you get it." I guess we'll never know, will we?

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